CHRONOLOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS AND THE SOMAVAṀŚĪS OF ORISSA

BY

KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A., D.Phil.,

Formerly Superintendent, Department of Archaeology,
Government of India, Central Circle, Bhopal.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

PREFACE.

Our main attempt here has been to work out the chronology of the two most important mediaeval dynasties of Orissa, the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs, but not to write their history. Such parts of their history as are inseparably connected with their chronology have, however, been briefly dealt with.

The chronology of an ancient dynasty, which forms the very basis of its history, is, in the ultimate analysis, a mathematical problem. Any big error in any part of it invariably produces conflicts and contradictions, and any attempt to slur over the difficulties results in bringing out such conflicts and contradictions in their pronounced forms. An unbiassed interpretation of the original sources providing chronological data and a strict adherence to a truthful course which alone can bring light to clear obscurities, are therefore more necessary than learning in tackling a vexed chronological problem. An accurate chronology in respect of the dynasties dealt with here, is precluded by the nature of the materials available for it. The main object of this little work will however be fulfilled, if it has not fallen from the ideals at any point, and if the main framework of the chronology worked out here remains unassailed and unaltered by future discoveries.

There is no such thing as the history of India except that it is the sum total of the histories of its different parts. The main problem of Ancient Indian History is not one of names or events, but it is one of dates. The present work aims at fixing the approximate dates in respect of the names and the events of the Orissan history for a period of about three hundred and seventy-five years with the hope that this period of the Orissan history, while finding its place in ancient Indian history, will not become a discordant element as it has been at present.

Our chronology relates to the period from A.D. 736 to A.D. 1110 and it is found that during this period Orissa came to be connected politically, culturally or commercially not only with such parts of India as Bengal, Assam, the Gorakhpur Division of Uttar Pradesh; the Chattisgarh, Raipur, Jabalpur and Malwa regions of Madhya Pradesh; Andhra, Madras, Mysore, Maharastra and Guzrat; but also with such foreign countries as China, Tibet, Nepal, Persia, Arabia and Sumatra. It reveals the fact that even in the past, despite poor communications, the destinies of an Indian territory remained bound up with the rest of the world, more so with the rest of India.

I am very grateful to Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A.Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University, for his kind co-operation given to me in publishing this monograph. I am also grateful to the Department of Archaealogy, Govt. of India, for the supply of two photographs published in it.

BHOPAL,
1-1-1961.

K. C. Panigrahi.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

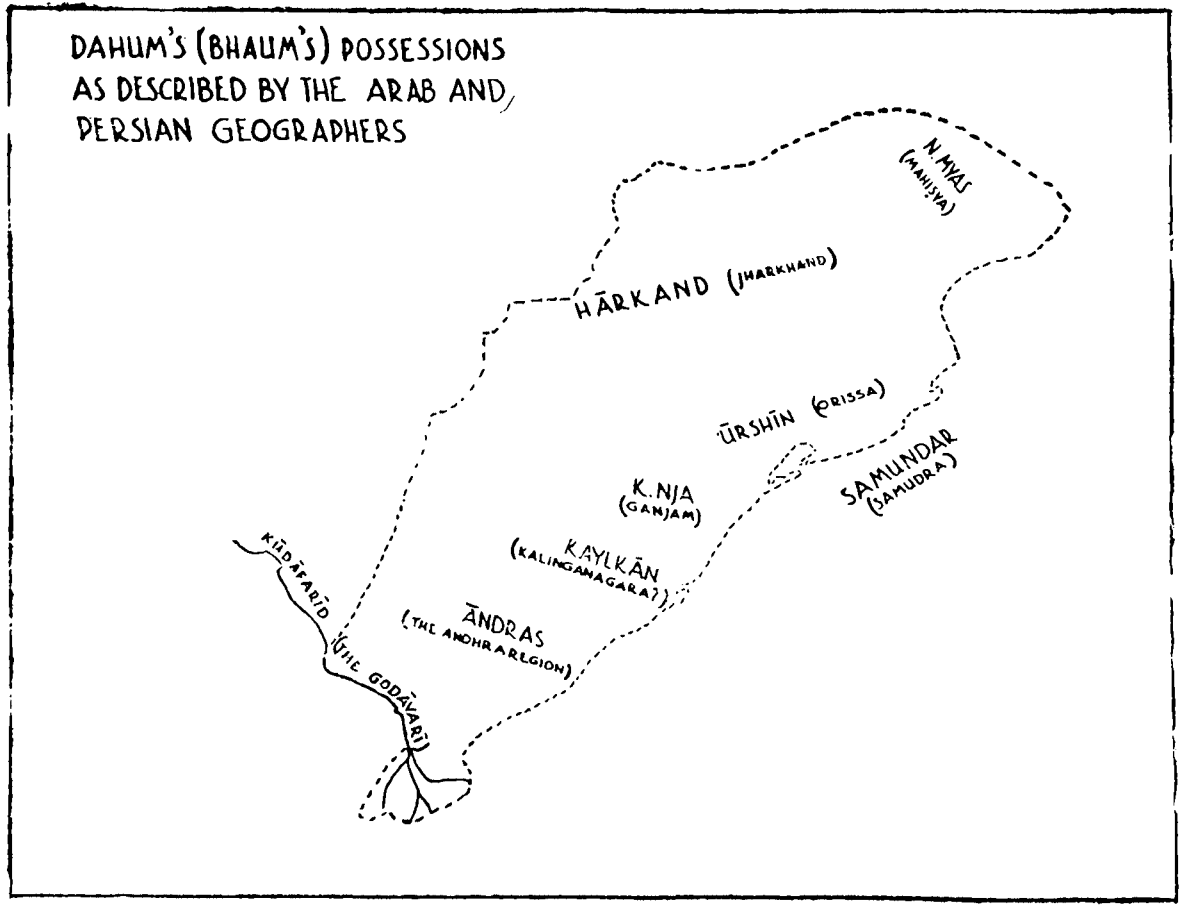
CONTENTS.

		Page.
1.	Preface	
2.	Part I	1
3.	Part II	24
4.	Appendix I	54
5.	Appendix II	72
6.	Index	73

Illustrations.

1. Map showing Dahum's (Bhaum or Bhauma's) possessions as described by Arab and Persian Geographers.
2. Plate I

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com



Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Plate No. 1 (*a*)

Gaṅgā from Dah Parbatiya Tezpur District, Assam.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Plate No. 1 (*a*)

Gaṅgā from Dah Parbatiya Tezpur District, Assam.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Plate No. 1 (*b*)

Gaṅgā from Ratnagiri in Cuttack District of Orissa.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Gaṅgā from Ratnagiri in Cuttack District of Orissa.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS AND THE SOMAVAṂŚĪS OF ORISSA

PART I

The chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and that of the Somavaṁśīs, known as Kesarīs in Orissan traditions, are inter-connected with each other and their latest accounts are to be found in Vols IV (pp. 62, 145) and V (pp. 209 ff) of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyā-bhavan) hereafter referred to as *HCIP*. The palaeography of the inscriptions of the later Bhauma-Karas and the early Somavaṁśīs shows that both the dynasties were close contemporaries, but in the total disregard of the palaeographical indications a very long interval is generally allowed between the two. Here we shall show that both the dynasties ruled contemporaneously for some years, the Bhauma-Karas in Utkala (Orissa) and the Somavaṁśīs in Kośala (Dakṣiṇa Kośala, the tract roughly comprising the upper Mahānadī valley), and then the latter supplanted the former in Utkala in quick succession. The chronologies of both the dynasties, so far attempted by scholars, admit of wide divergences involving not a small period of some years, but sometimes a century or two. In such a scheme of chronology it is inevitable that the facts and the dates gleaned from different sources will conflict with each other, making the task of reconstructing their history almost impossible. As a matter of fact, the Orissan history of about three hundred and seventy-five years covered by the rules of these two dynasties, which gave Orissa a geographical unit and a homogeneous culture and language, still remains in a conflicting state. Since it is our view that the satisfactory solution of the chronological problems of one of the dynasties will lead to the solution of the same problems of the other, we start the discussion of the Somavaṁśī chronology first.

Nothing was practically known of the later Somavaṁśīs after Uddyotakeśarī and the genealogy of the dynasty also remained incomplete. The lucky discovery of the remaining copper-plates of the Ratnagiri Charter, made by Mrs. D. Mitra[1], which give the full genealogy of the dynasty,

1. *Ind. Hist. Q.* Vol. XXXV, 1959, pp. 93 ff; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXIII pp. 263 ff; pp. 269 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

together with a few facts and materials brought to light by other scholars, now enables us to make a fresh attempt to settle their chronology. The sources from which the dates and the synchronisms are obtained for chronological purposes, have been named here as Sources I-VI for the sake of convenience and discussed separately.

Source I

The earliest copper-plate grant of Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta issued in his eighth regnal year,[2] two of his subsequent charters[3] and one charter of his son and successor Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta[4] contain references to certain contemporary events which can be utilised for chronological purposes. It is stated in Bhīmaratha's charter that his father Yayāti I captured 32 big elephants after defeating the protector of the elephant troop and after killing their riders with the arrows and rescued the women brought to the elephant troop, obviously for the purpose of being carried away. This information without any change is also found in the two later charters of Yayāti I referred to above, but in his earliest charter issued in his eighth regnal year, some more details of his exploits performed at the time of rescuing the women have been given in a short supplement consisting of three verses inscribed at the end of it. In the first verse it is stated that Svabhāvatuṅga by dint of his manliness became king and spread the fortunes of the Kośala country by defeating the Kalachuris. In the next two verses it is stated that his son without caring a fig for the most powerful Chaidya (Kalachuri) Yuvarāja burnt the Ḍāhala country, captured along with the soldiers, maid-servants and decorators an elephant troop of the lord of Chedi, engaged in carrying away women and brought them to the border of his own kingdom.[5]

From the references quoted above it is evident that Svabhāvatuṅga was a surname of Janamejaya I and that his son Yayāti I was a contemporary of the Kalachuri king

2. *JASB*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 15-16; *JAS*, Vol. XIX, 1953, pp. 117-24 and Plate.

3. *JASB*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 7-20.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 356, ll. 20-23 and Plate.

5. For the texts of these references and their interpretations see Appendix I (a) and (b).

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Yuvarāja of Tripurī (Jabalpur) whose kingdom was variously known as the Ḍāhala or Chedi country. The identification of Svabhāvatuṅga with Janamejaya is supported by the aforesaid Somavaṁśī records and is placed beyond doubt by the conjoint evidence to be obtained from another Somavaṁśī inscription and one Bhauma-Kara copper-plate grant which we shall notice later on. The two Kalachuri kings of Tripurī bearing the name of Yuvarāja are known to scholars as Yuvarāja I and Yuvarāja II, who ruled from *c* 915-945 A. D. and *c* 980-990 A. D. respectively.[6] Only a satisfactory identification of Yuvarāja, Yayāti I's contemporary, will enable us to find out the name of the Kalachuri king who was the contemporary of Janamejeya Svabhāvatuṅga. If we take Yuvarāja II to be a contemporary of Yayāti I, the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs will continue to be in a conflicting state as it is at present. For this reason which will be obvious to us later on, we shall have to take Yuvarāja I (*c*. 915-945 A. D.) to be a contemporary of Yayāti I. Consequently Yuvarāja I's father Śaṅkaragaṇa-Mugdhatuṅga would be a contemporary of Yayāti I's father Janamejaya - Śvabhāvatuṅga.

The contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Śaṅkaragaṇa is also evidenced by several other factors. It is stated in the Kalachuri inscriptions that Śaṅkaragaṇa conquered Pāli which has been identified with Pāli, a village situated in the Bilaspur District. Pāli and the surrounding region lay in the Kośala country which at the time of its conquest was under the Bāṇa Dynasty. The conquest therefore marked the extension of the Kalachuri power towards the east where the conqueror allowed a principality to be established with its capital at Tummāṇa, modern Tumān in the former Lapha Zamindari of the Bilaspur District, and placed it under the charge of one of his own brothers. The principality later on grew up into the Kalachuri Kingdom of Ratnapur with its capital at Ratnapur, only twelve miles from Pāli.[7]

The region occupaid by the Ratnapur kingdom was formerly under the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī or Somavaṁśī kings who are

---

6. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. lxxviii, lxxxviii.

7. *Ibid*, pp. cxv-cxviii.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

known to have borne the *viruda* or the surname of Śivagupta or Mahāśivagupta.[8] It is not known when and how the Somavaṁśīs were ousted by the Bāṇas from the Bilaspur region. It is also not known whether the Somavaṁśīs had any principality or kingdom anywere in the Bilaspur or Chattisgarh regions when Pāli was conquered by Śaṅkaragaṇa. The relation between Śivagupta mentioned as the predecessor of Janamejaya, and Janamejaya is also not known and the interval between the reigns of the two is therefore unknown to us. Śivagupta has been given the titles of a sovereign ruler, but in none of the numerous copper-plate records of Janamejaya, he is stated to have been the father of the latter. Śivagupta's name does not appear in any other Somavaṁśī record except those of Janamejaya. All other records mention Janamejaya and not Śivagupta, as the founder of the dynasty. Janamejaya's inscriptions mention only Śivagupta as his single predecessor and the term Śivagupta, as we have already seen, was a *viruda* of the Somavaṁśīs and not the personal name of any ruler of that dynasty. Had Janamejaya been the son of Śivagupta, he would have certainly mentioned the real name of Śivagupta. A similar instance is furnished by the copper-plate grant of Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta[9] who, as we know from several records, was a collateral number of the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Kośala and Utkala possessing no direct claim to the throne, but who won the kingdom by his own valour. In Yayāti II's copper-plate grant Mahābhavagupta appears as his single predecessor and the term Mahābhavagupta was a family *viruda* and not the real name of any Somavaṁśī ruler.

From the above discussion it will be clear that Janamejaya was a scion of the ancient Paṇḍuvaṁśī or Somavaṁśī Dynasty of Mahā Kośala which as a geographical term indicated a wide area comprising the Bilaspur-Raipur-Chattisgarh and Sambalpur-Sonepur regions. He had no direct claim to the Somavaṁśī throne, but carved out a kingdom by his own valour. This is supported by the verse of the supplement of the above-mentioned charter of his son Yayāti I in which it is stated that Svabhāvatuṅga became king by his own manliness (*nija-*

8. *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 220 ff.

9. *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 52-55 and Plate.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

pauruṣeṇa) and spread the fortunes of the Kośala country by defeating the Chaidyas (the Kalachuris). It seems that the destruction of the Bāṇa kingdom in the Bilaspur region by Śaṅkaragaṇa, the Kalachuri king of Tripurī (Jabalpur), gave an opportunity to the Somavaṁśīs to try to revive their lost kingdom which had a long history commencing from the fifth century A.D. Janamejaya, a scion of this ancient royal family, moved further east and founded a small kingdom in the Sambalpur-Sonepur region. While founding this new kingdom he would have inevitably been involved in a conflict with the Kalachuris who were now the only power occupying a vast kingdom to the west of the Sambalpur-Sonepur tract. The rivalry between the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa and Janamejaya is indicated by the equal number of surnames borne by both the monarchs. Śaṅkaragaṇa had three surnames, *viz.* Prasiddha-dhavala, Raṇa-vigraha and Mugdhatuṅga.[10] Janamejaya had also three surnames, *viz.*, Mahābhavagupta, Dharma-Kandarpa[11] and Svabhāvatuṅga. The claim made in the aforementioned Somavaṁśī record that Svabhāvatuṅga defeated the Chaidyas (the Kalachuris) does not appear to be an empty one. The fact remains that Janamejaya succeeded in establishing a kingdom, keeping it intact during his long reign of over thirty-five years and finally in handing it down with increased territories and the sphere of influence to his successors in the face of the opposition from the powerful neighbouring kingdom of the Kalachuris. He was one of those brave sons of the ancient royal families, who had revived the almost lost and waning fortunes of their families by their own valour.

Janamejaya was thus a contemporary of Śaṅkaragaṇa whose reign has been placed between *c.* 890-910 A.D. by Dr. V. V. Mirashi,[12] but other scholars observe that "Kokkallā must have been succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa sometime between A.D. 878 and 888."[13] From our later discussions it will appear that Śaṅkaragaṇa began his reign in about

---

10. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.* Vol. IV, Part I, pp. lxxvi ff; *HCIP* Vol. IV, pp. 87-88.
11. *Ibid*, p. 146.
12. *Ibid*, pp. lxxvi ff.
13. *Ibid*, p. 87.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

878 A.D. and not in 890 A.D. Therefore for our chronology we get the following data:

Somavaṁśī kings.	Their Kalachuri contemporaries.
Janamejaya I	Saṅkaragaṇa (*c* 878-910 A.D.)
Yayāti I	Yuvarājā I (*c* 915-945 A.D.)

Source II

In the Baud Plate of Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty, dated in the Bhauma year 158, it is stated that she was the daughter of the king (*rājñaḥ*) Svabhāvatuṅga, the lord of Kośala (*Kośalā-dhipateḥ*), who belonged to the Somavaṁśa (*Śītāṁśuvaṁśa*)[14]. There is no ambiguity whatsoever in this statement and therefore we conclude that the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya Svabhāvatuṅga was the father of the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛithvī *Mahādevī alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II. In the Brahmeśvara Inscription of the reign of the Somavaṁśī king Uddyota-Keśarī Mahābhavagupta it is stated that Janamejaya, the founder of the Somavaṁśi Dynasty, "drew to himself the fortune of the king of the Uḍra country who was killed by his *kunta* in a battle."[15] In plain words it means that Janamejaya assumed the sovereignty of Orissa after killing its king with his *kunta* (a sharp pointed weapon) in the battle field. This statement together with the mention of his name in the copper-plate grant of his daughter Pṛithvī Mahādevī clearly shows that he killed a reigning monarch of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa and placed his daughter on the Bhauma-Kara throne.

The later history of the Bhauma Dynasty which was marked by domestic feuds and short reigns, also supports these facts. Śubhākaradeva IV, his brother Śivakaradeva III and Śubhākaradeva IV's queen Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī were ruling in the Bhauma years 145, 149 and 158 respectively.[16] In the aforementioned Baud Plate

---

14. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 153.

15. *JASB, Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.

16. See the genealogical Table with dates in the Bhauma years on p. 63 of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyābhavan), Vol. IV. The year 158 mentioned in the Baud Plate of Pṛithvī Mahādevi has been referred to in fn. 33 on p. 79 of the same work.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

it is stated that Śubhākaradeva IV and his brother Śivakaradeva III having died without issue, the succession passed to Śubhākaradeva's queen Pṛithvī Mahādevī. This statement is in conflict with the later records which vouch for the existence of two sons of Śivakaradeva III, who actually ascended the throne after their father. The evidences furnished by the Baud Plate and the Brahmeśvara Inscription thus lead us to conclude that there was a struggle for succession to the Bhauma-Kara throne; that the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya Svabhāvatuṅga took up the cause of his daughter; that he killed his son-in-law's brother Śivakaradeva III in the battle field and that finally he placed his daughter on the Bhauma-Kara throne. In the Baud Plate there has been a deliberate attempt to suppress the truth and to ignore the claims of Śivakaradeva III's sons who probably set up parallel governments in some parts of the same kingdom. In none of the later Bhauma-Kara records the reign of Pṛithvī Mahādevī has been referred to, a fact which indicates that the later members of the Bhauma ruling family never recognized her succession secured with the help of an external power.

Janamejaya-Svabhāvatuṅga's successful intervention in the affairs of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom, which resulted in the death of the reigning monarch and the succession of his daughter to the Bhauma-Kara throne, is a very important event in the history of the Somavaṁśīs, but strangely enough it has not found mention in any of the contemporary or later official records of the Somavaṁśīs, except in the Brahmeśvara Inscription which was a non-official document. The reason for this omission is not far to seek. The killing of the son-in-law's own brother with a *kunta* (a sharp pointed weapon) might have been justified from the stand-point of politics, but it was never a laudable act from the stand-point of the society. The official Somavaṁśī records have therefore discreetly omitted all references to it. The non-official Brahmeśvara Inscription with its comparative freedom from official conventions has mentioned this heroic but unpleasant achievement of Janamejaya. We shall see later on that the Brahmeśvara Inscription has also hinted at another family disgrace of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty and has omitted the name of the king Nahuṣa who was responsible for it.

Our above analysis will show that Svabhāvatuṅga of the Baud Plate can be no other than Janamejaya I. Svabhāva-

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

tuṅga cannot be identified with Yayāti I, because the latter has never been credited with the conquest or invasion of Orissa in any of the official or non-official records of the Somavaṁśīs. Our identification of Svabhāvatuṅga of Yayāti I's copper-plate grant dated in his 8th regnal year, with Janamejaya I is thus proved beyond doubt.

The exact date of Janamejaya-Svabhāvatuṅga's intervention in the succession dispute of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom is not known, but it must have taken place between the Bhauma years 145 and 158 when Śivakaradeva III and Pṛithvī Mahādevī were respectively ruling. We may take the date of his intervention as the Bhauma year 155. Now, since Janamejaya-Svabhāvatuṅga was a contemporary Śaṅkaragaṇa-Mugdhatuṅga (*c* 878-910 A.D.), the Bhauma Era must have started from any year between A.D. 723 and 755. Therefore the exact year from which the Bhauma Era commenced has to be determined. Fortunately, the astronomical data obtained from two of Śatrubhañjadeva's copper-plate grants, both dated in the year 198, enable us to determine the exact date of its commencement.[17] The Dasapalla Copper-plate Grant of Rāṇaka Śatrubhañjadeva, dated in the year 198, was issued on the day of Viṣṇu-Saṁkrānti, Pañchamī, Ravi-dina, Mṛigaśirā-Nakṣatra.[18] This combination of the solar and lunar reckoning is rare in the Indian Calendar and Pandit S. N. Rajguru, the editor of the coppper-plate grant, after consulting the *Indian Ephemeris* of Swamikannu Pillai, found the following dates between A.D. 700 and 1100 when this combination actually occurred:

(1) the 21st March, 812 A.D.,

(2) the 23rd March, 934 A.D.

and (3) the 23rd March, 1029 A.D.

Of these three dates, he has taken the 23rd March, 934 A.D. as the date of issue of the grant after a consideration of

17. The Bhauma Era was used not only in the copper-plate grants of the Bhauma-Karas in which we find a series of years beginning from 20 or 50 and ending with 187 without any big gap (*HCIP*, IV, 63), but also in the copper-plate records of their contemporary ruling families in Orissa such as the Bhañjas and the Nandas.

18. *The Orissa Hist. R.J.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 208 ff and Plate; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 189 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

other dates and facts of the Orissan history, and has accordingly concluded that the Bhauma Era started from 736 A.D. This view is also supported by the astronomical data obtained from the Ganjam Copper-plate Grant of the same Bhañja ruler, dated in the same year 198 and edited by the same scholar.[19] We have shown above that the Bhauma Era must have started from any year between A.D. 723 and 755. Therefore there is now no doubt that this era started from A.D. 736.

We have already stated that the last part of the Bhauma-Kara rule in Orissa represented a period of turmoil, domestic feuds and struggles for succession which are indicated by the number of rulers who ruled during this short period. Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribuvana-Mahādevī II and Daṇḍi Mahādevī were ruling respectively in the Bhauma years 158 and 187. Daṇḍī Mahādevī might have ruled a few years more and closed her reign in about the Bhauma year 190. During this short period of 32 years as many as 5 rulers, of whom three were females, ruled the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. The last four rulers including the two who ruled after Daṇḍī Mahādevī, were all females, a fact which indicates the non-existence of the male heirs. The last two female rulers appear to have been set up on the throne by the enemies of the Somavaṁśīs and these enemies, as we shall see later on, were the Bhañjas. As the total reign period of these two female rulers does not appear to have lasted for more than 5 years, the Bhauma supremacy in Orissa may be taken to have ended in the Bhauma year 195 corresponding to 931 A.D.

Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta, son of Janamejaya-Svabhāvatuṅga, granted the village Chāndagrāma in the Maraḍa-viṣaya of Dakṣiṇa-Toṣali (south Orissa) in the 9th year of his reign.[20] Chāndagrāma and Maraḍa have respectively been identified with Chāndgān, 32 miles south-east of Cuttack and Baraḍa or Baraḍa-Hariharpur situated in the Cuttack District.[21] It will be absurd to think that Yayāti I granted this village situated in Dakṣiṇa-Toṣali or south Orissa when the Bhauma supre-

19. *The Orissa Hist. R.J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 67 ff. and Plate.

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 352.

21. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p. 68; *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 147; *JAS*, Vol. XIX, 1953, pp. 120-21.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

macy in Orissa was still in existence. The only logical conclusion should be that he granted it when the Bhauma supremacy had ended or had just ended. His ninth regnal year therefore roughly corresponded to the Bhauma year 195 (A.D. 931). His father Janamejaya-Svabhāvatuṅga must have been a middle-aged man of about 50 years and would have ruled at least for 10 years when he placed his daughter, aged about 30 years, on the Bhauma-Kara throne in the Bhauma year 155 (A.D. 891). So his reign began in about 882 A.D. One of his copper-plate grants gives his thirty-fifth regnal year which does not necessarily represent the last year of his reign and therefore it is very likely that he ruled for forty years. One of his ancestors Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta had a reign of at least 57 years.[22] One of Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta's charters records his twenty-eighth regnal year and it is not unlikely that he might have ruled for five years more after his twenty-eighth regnal year. On these calculations we may fix the reign-periods of Janamejaya and his son as follows :

Janamejaya I — A.D. 882 - 922.
Yayāti I — A.D. 922 - 955.

Source III

For the middle part of the Somavaṁśī chronology the Choḷa invasion of Orissa in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. provides us with a definite date. In the Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Choḷa it is stated that he "captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place at Ādinagara, a city whose great fame knew no decline."[23] There is nothing in this statement which is of unintelligible or ambiguous character, but the variants of the place-name and the name of the ruler of the ancient race of the moon found in different Choḷa records have given rise to a series of interpretations. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and Mr. P. Acharya[25] have attemped to identify Ādinagara of the Tirumalai Inscription with

22. *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 221-22.
23. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Choḷas*, pp. 248-9.
24. *Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's Silver Jubilee Vols., Orientalia*, Part II, pp. 541-87.
25. *Journal of Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XX, Part I, 1941, p. 12.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Yayātinagara of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions and Dr D. C. Ganguly[26] has identified Ādinagara with Kaliṅganagara. These identifications are however hardly necessary, because in four of the inscriptions describing the exploits of Rājendra Choḷa, the place-name has correctly been given as Yayātinagara.[27] The variants, of which Ādinagara is one, should therefore be taken as the Tamilan corruptions or be attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Similarly there should also be no controversy about the name of the ruler of the ancient race of the moon defeated by Rājendra Choḷa, which appears distinctly as Indraratha in one Choḷa inscription[28] and in most of others in its Tamilan corruptions as Indirarata, Indirarada etc.[29] It may be stated here that the defeat of Indraratha by Rājendra Choḷa has found mention in twelve of his inscriptions engraved between the twelfth and the thirty-first years of his reign.[30] The earliest mention of this event having been found in the Tirumalai Inscription of his twelfth regnal year corresponding to 1023 A.D., it is generally assumed that his victorious march to the Ganges during which he defeated Indraratha, took place before 1021 A.D.

Rājendra Choḷa's inscriptions thus furnish us with the accurate information about the name of the ruler defeated, the dynasty to which he belonged and the place where he was defeated. If we confine ourselves to this authentic information there will be no chance of much complicacy. Unfortunately, however, matters have been made complicated by certain unwarranted assumptions. It has generally been assumed that Indraratha was a king of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty of Kośala and Utkala, notwithstanding the fact that he has not been mentioned as such in any of the Choḷa records. His name has therefore been searched in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions and when it is not found in them, attempts have been made to identify him with one of the kings known from the genealogical

26. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 66.

27. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. V, Nos. 651, 635, 636 and 637.

28. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 400.

29. *Ibid*, vol. V, Nos. 651, 464, 636, 1354; Vol. VII, No. 1047.

30. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 400; Vol. V. Nos. 651, 464, 635, 636, 637, 1354; Vol. VI, Nos. 30, 33; Vol. VII, No. 1047; Vol. I, No. 68 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 232.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

lists of the Somavaṁśī records. Mr. P. Acharya[31] has thus attempted to identify him with Dharmaratha, Dr. D. C. Sircar[32] with Nahuṣa and Dr. D. C. Ganguly [33] with Indraratha whom he takes to be a king of Ganjam unknown from any source. Again, though there is a distinct indication in the Tirumalai Inscription that Yayātinagara was situated in the Oḍra country (Orissa), the capture of which led to the conquest of "Oḍḍa-viṣaya which was difficult to approach",[34] the location of Yayātinagara is generally sought in the Kośala country comprised in the upper Mahānadī valley. These assumptions unwarranted by the original sources have therefore become misleading factors resulting in no satisfactory identification of either Indraratha or Yayātinagara.

The inscriptions describing the exploits of Rājendra Choḷa in his advance to the Ganges have simply mentioned the persons vanquished or the names of the territories conquered, but have not given their political status in each case. It will therefore be improper to take each one of the persons he defeated to be an independant ruler and each of the countries he traversed to be an independent state. Such interpretations have however been very often made of his conquests with the result that no clear picture of the independent states that existed during his invasion of Northern India, has been obtained. Indraratha of Yayātinagara, Dharmmapāla of Daṇḍakabhūkti (Mednapore) and Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha (West Bengal) whom he defeated, have all been supposed to be independent kings, but their independent status is not proved by Rājendra Choḷa's inscriptions nor by any other source. They might have all been subordinate rulers appointed by the Somavaṁśī king of Kośala and Utkala and the Pāla king of Bengal who are known to have been the independent rulers of this region at this time. These subordinate rulers would have opposed Rājendra Choḷa's advance out of their own accords or at the instance of their overlords. Their subordinate character is indicated by the facts that their names have not been found from the genealogical lists of the main dynasties and that their copper-plate grants have

31. *Journal of Ind. Hist.* Vol. XX, Part I, p. 12.
32. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1946, p. 303.
33. *HCIP.* Vol. V, p. 66.
34. *Ibid*, p. 237.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

not been discovered. Had they been independent kings, Rājendra Choḷa, after defeating them, would have attained his object without proceeding to Kośala and without fighting with Mahīpāla I, king of Bengal. Scholars have explained Rājendra Choḷa's attack on Chakrakūṭa (Bastar) by supposing that he perhaps pursued Jayasiṁha to that region, but they have not explained why he proceeded from "Oḍḍa-Viṣaya" (Orissa) to "good Kośalāi Nāḍu (Kośala)". Considering his destination which was the river Ganges, one would expect him to proceed from Orissa to Mednapore (Daṇḍaka-bhūkti) to which he actually returned from Kośala. This deviation indicates that Orissa had a subordinate ruler at Yayātinagara and therefore it was necessary for the Choḷa monarch to attack the main territory of Kośala to secure a safe passage in his return journey from the Ganges. The overlord of the Somavaṁśī kingdom of Kośala and Utkala at this time was, according to our chronology, Nahuṣa who like Govinda Chandra of Bāṅgāl-deś (East Bengal), does not appear to have opposed the invading army and therefore the Choḷa record states that in good Kośalāi Nāḍu only the Brahmins assembled.

It will therefore be futile to expect to get the name of Indrarath from the genealogy of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty. His name and the dynasty to which he belonged according to the Choḷa record, indicate that he was probably another brother of the Somavaṁśī king Dharmmaratha and was appointed to rule over Orissa with his capital at Yayātinagara. The existence of a secondary capital of the Somavaṁśī kings in Orissa, known as Yayātinagara or Abhinava Yayātinagara, is proved by several evidences. The Somavaṁśī kings Uddyotakeśarī[35] and Karṇadeva[36] issued their copper-plate grants from Yayātinagara which cannot be taken to be Yayātinagara of the Kośala country, because when these grants were made, the former had assigned Kośala to Abhimanyu[37], probably a prince of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty, to rule over it and the latter, as we shall see later on, had lost Kośala. It appears that after the occupation of Orissa Yayāti I established a

35. *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, 1930-31, p. 16, line 29; *Ind. Hist. Q.* Vol. XXXV, p. 102.

36. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 266.

37. *Ibid*, Vol, XII, pp. 237 ff; Vol. XXVIII, p. 325.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

secondary capital in Orissa and this capital was also known as Yayātinagara. The Somavaṁśī kings continued to rule from old Yayātinagara situated in Kośala, but appointed viceroys, generally the princes of the same dynasty, for Orissa to rule from Abhinava (new) Yayātinagara. This arrangement appears to have lasted up till the reign of Yayāti II when the position became reversed. Since his reign the Somavaṁśī kings lived in Orissa and ruled from Abhinava Yayātinagara and appointed their viceroys for Kośala, who ruled not from old Yayātinagara, but from Suvarṇapura or modern Sonepur. This position is clearly indicated by the copper-plate grant of Kumāra Someśvara[38] issued from Suvarṇapura, which states that the Kośala country had been assigned to Abhimanyu by Uddyotakeśarī.

Literary evidences also prove the existence of a Yayātinagara in Orissa. The *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannātha at Puri, mentions Abhinava Yayātinagara in connection with the events stated to have taken place during the reign of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīmadeva III.[39] The context in which this place-name has been used, leaves no doubt that by Abhinava Yayātinagara the chronicle means modern Jajpur situated in the Cuttack District, which under the name of Virajā was the capital of the Bhauma-Karas[40] and which the Somavaṁśīs as the successors of the Bhauma-Karas would have chosen as their capital in Orissa. The adjective Abhinava (new) is significant and it presupposes the existence of an old Yayātinagara. The Gaṅga Kings, the successors of the Somavaṁśīs in Orissa, who established their capital at Bārāṇasī (Kaṭaka-Bārāṇasī or modern Cuttack) also called it Abhinava Bārāṇasī,[41] no doubt to distinguish it from old Bārāṇasī situated on the bank of the Ganges in Northern India. In Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtam* the wind-messenger is asked to proceed from Yayātinagarī to Suhma. The late Mr. M. M. Chakravarti has identified Yayātinagarī with Yayātinagara of

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī Edition), p. 28.

40. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 87 ff.

41. The Gaṅga King Anaṅgabhīmadeva III issued a copper-plate grant from Abhinava Bārāṇasī, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 257.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Kośala,[42] but since Orissa and Suhma or modern Mednapore form contiguous territories, it should more appropriately be identified with Abhinava Yayātinagara of Orissa. Jājpur has been described as Yayātinagara in the Oriya literature even up to the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the fact that in all Muslim sources the name had long been changed into Jājnagar. In the Oriya Mahābhārata written by Rājā Krishna Simha in the eighteenth century, it is stated that any body who visits Yayāti-pattana, gets the same merits as accrue from the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.[43] Because of its situation on the river Baitaraṇī, the poet has merely changed Yayātinagara into Yayāti-pattana, but all the same his description of the merits that accrue from a visit to the place, leads to its identification with Jājpur. There is a tradition still current in Orissa, particularly at Jājpur, that Yayāti Keśarī brought ten thousand Brahmins from Kanauj and performed ten *Āśvamedha* sacrifices.[44] There is still a *ghāṭ* on the Baitaraṇī river at Jājpur, which is known as Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭa. A group of Sapta-mātṛikā images enshrined in a temple built on this *ghāṭ* are still worshipped. Whether Yayāti Keśarī, to be identified with Yayāti I of the Somavaṁśi Dynasty, ever performed ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices will remain a disputed point, but there should be no dispute about the fact that in associating Yayāti-pattana or Yayātinagara with the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice the poet has followed the tradition mentioned above. Therefore, Yayāti-pattana of his description can be no other place than Jājpur.

There was thus a Yayātinagara in Orissa, now known as Jājpur. Rājendra Choḷa met Indraratha, a subordinate ruler

---

42. *JASB* (New Series), Vol. I, 1905, pp. 44-45.

43. *Yayāti-pattanaku yāe yeun nara*
Aśvamedha phaḷaṭi huai tāhāra |
Vana Parva (Satyavadi Press, 1925), p. 114.

44. *Kanauja-deśāt svayam-āhūtā ye*
daś-āśva-medhāya purā vidhātrā |
martiya-sthitāḥ svarga-gatāś-cha viprās-tebhya
dvijebhyaḥ pradadāmi ch-ārghyam ||

The verse is even now recited at the time of giving *piṇḍa* at Nābhi Gaya in Jājpur. It has been quoted in a foot-note on p. 49 of *Oḍiśār Itihāsa* (Oriya) by Pyari Mohan Acharya, published in 1875.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

appointed by the Somavaṁśī king, at this place and defeated him in about 1021 A.D. which is therefore a definite date in the Somavaṁśī chronology.

Source IV

Another date for the Somavaṁśī chronology is furnished by the short inscription engraved on the Lalāṭendu Keśarī Gumphā in the Khaṇḍagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. Prof. R. D. Banerji, the editor, has read the date occurring in the inscription as 5, but he does not appear to have noticed two other digits which succeed the numeral 5 in the same line.[45] These digits are 4 and 9 and therefore the date is actually 549. Since the inscription refers itself to the reign of Uddyotakeśarī, this date of which the era has not been specified, should necessarily fall within his reign. The only era to which it can be referred so that it may fall within his reign, is the Gaṅga Era commencing from 496 A. D. The date when referred to the Gaṅga Era, corresponds to 1045 A. D.

It is true that no era specified or unspecified is found recorded in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions, but this inscription engraved on the Lalāṭendu Keśarī Gumphā, was a private one and therefore it was not bound by the conventions. The Gaṅga Era had become widely current in the southern part of Orissa long before A. D. 1045 and so its use in an inscription of Orissa of the period will not appear surprising or unusual, particularly if its author belonged to the southern part of Orissa. We should therefore take A.D. 1045 to be a date falling within the reign of Uddyotakeśarī, though it is not possible to determine the exact regnal year to which this date corresponded.

Sources V and VI

It is stated in the commentary of the *Rāmacharita* by Sandhyākara Nandī that Rāmapāladeva's lieutenant Jayasiṁha of Daṇḍakabhūkti (Mednapore) lifted with his hand Karṇakeśarī, the lord of Utkala.[46] This Karṇakeśarī can be no other than the Somavaṁśī king Karṇadeva, the donor of the Ratnagiri copper-plate grant.[47] It is therefore evident that

45. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XIII p. 165 ff. (No. XVI) and Plate. Also see Appendix 1 (c).

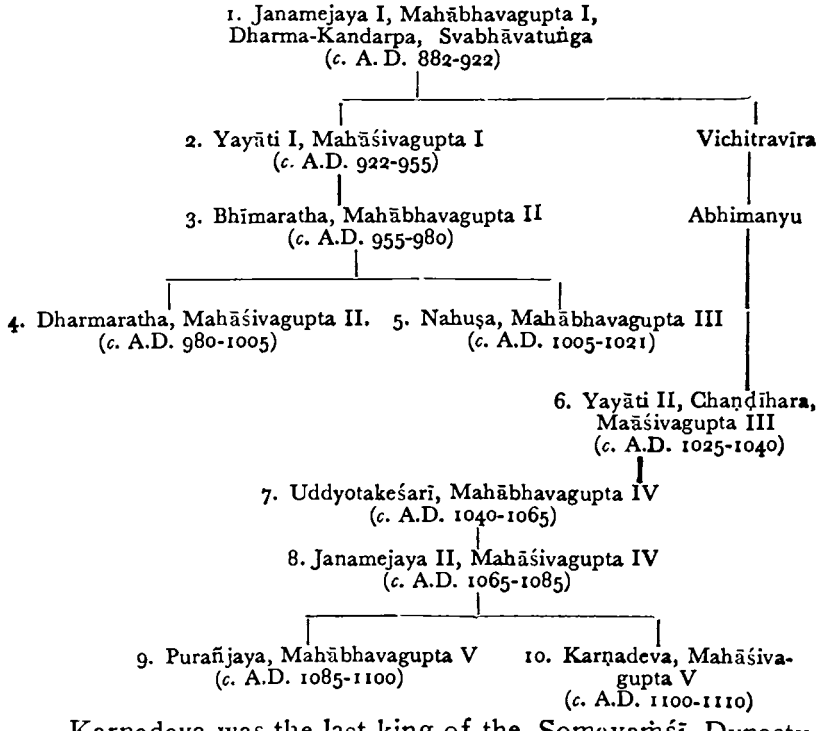
46. *Rāma Charita*, Edt. by MM. H. P. Sastri, p. 36.

47. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 263.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Karṇadeva was a contemporary of Rāmapāladeva of Bengal who ruled from *c.* 1077-1120 A.D.[48] The Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Choḍagaṅgadeva is dated in the Śaka year 1034 (1114 A.D.),[49] which indicates that he had occupied Orissa by that time. We should put the date of the annexation of Orissa by him in about 1110 A.D. The reign period of Karṇadeva will have therefore to be put somewhere between 1077 and 1110 A.D.

Co-ordinating the results obtained from the Sources I-VI and giving due consideration to the regnal years obtained from the inscriptions, we draw the following genealogical and chronological table of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty. The complete genealogy has been reconstructed only from two records, viz. the Brahmeśvara Inscription of Uddyotakeśarī's reign[50] and the Ratnagiri Grant of Karṇadeva.[1] It is needless to say that the dates assigned to the rulers are approximate.


1. Janamejaya I, Mahābhavagupta I, Dharma-Kandarpa, Svabhāvatuṅga (*c.* A. D. 882-922)
2. Yayāti I, Mahāśivagupta I (*c.* A.D. 922-955)
Vichitravīra
3. Bhīmaratha, Mahābhavagupta II (*c.* A.D. 955-980)
Abhimanyu
4. Dharmaratha, Mahāśivagupta II. (*c.* A.D. 980-1005)
5. Nahuṣa, Mahābhavagupta III (*c.* A.D. 1005-1021)
6. Yayāti II, Chaṇḍīhara, Maāśivagupta III (*c.* A.D. 1025-1040)
7. Uddyotakeśarī, Mahābhavagupta IV (*c.* A.D. 1040-1065)
8. Janamejaya II, Mahāśivagupta IV (*c.* A.D. 1065-1085)
9. Purañjaya, Mahābhavagupta V (*c.* A.D. 1085-1100)
10. Karṇadeva, Mahāśivagupta V (*c.* A.D. 1100-1110)

Karṇadeva was the last king of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty. There is no evidence to show that any other king of the

48. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 28-31.
49. *Orissa Hist. R. J.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 1 ff.
50. *JASB Letters*, Vol. XIII, p, 72.
1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 263.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

dynasty ruled after him in Orissa or the dynasty continued in the subordinate capacity in any part of Orissa. Raṇakeśarī, supposed to be a member of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty and supposed to have ruled after Karṇadeva in 889 A. D.[2] or in 1107-09 A.D.,[3] is a name which has resulted from the misreading of an epigraph. No such name or the date is to be found in the epigraph on which these conclusions have been based.[4]

The total period covered by the reigns of the ten Somavaṁśī kings is 228 years, which gives an average of about 23 years to each reign.

We also reproduce below the genealogical table of the Bhauma-Karas as it appears on page 63 of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyābhavan), Vol. IV. Taking the Initial year of the Bhauma Era as 736 A.D. we have only put the corresponding dates in the Christian Era in place of the Bhauma years given in the original table reproduced here. The Bhauma year 158 referred to in the foot-note 33 on page 79 of the same work has been put in the corresponding Christian year of 894 A.D. against Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribuvana Mahādevī II. The order of succession is shown by Roman figures.

I. Kshemaṅkaradeva (736 A.D.)
II. Śivakaradeva I *alias* Unmaṭṭasiṁha *alias* Bharasaha (756 or 786 A.D.)
III. Śubhākaradeva I (790 A.D. ?)
IV. Śivakaradeva II (809 A.D. ?)
V. Śāntikaradeva I = VIII. Tribhuvana-Mahādevī I (846 A.D.) *alias* Gayāḍa I *alias* Lalitahāra I (829 A.D.)
VI. Śubhākaradeva II (836 A.D.)
VII. Subhākaradeva III *alias* Siṁhaketu *alias* Kusumahāra I (839 A.D.)
IX. Śāntikaradeva II *alias* Gayāḍa II *alias* Loṇabhāra I
X. Śubhākaradeva IV *alias* Kusumahāra II (881 A.D.) =XII (a). Tribhuvana-Mahādevī II (894 A.D.)
XI. Śivakaradeva III (885 A.D.) *alias* Lalitahāra II
XII. Śāntikaradeva III *alias* Lavaṇabhāra II =XVII. Dharmā-Mahādevī.
XIII. Śubhākara V = XIV Gaurī =XVI. Vakula-Mahādevī
XV. Daṇḍī-Mahādevī (916, 923 A.D.)

2. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 74.
3. *HCIP.*, Vol. V, p. 212.
4. See Appendix I(d).

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

The total period covered by the above 18 reigns is 195 years, which gives an average of only about 11 years to each reign. Several factors are responsible for this low average. The last part of the genealogy shows several cases of peculiar succession, which have added to the number of the rulers but have not added much to the total period. As already shown, since the reign of No. X, the Bhauma kingdom passed through a period of conflict and turmoil, which did not ensure the normal ending of a reign. Moreover it is just possible that Nos. XII and XII (a) had parallel governments in two different parts of the same kingdom.

Most of the important data utilised by us for determining the above chronology of both the dynasties have already been noticed by other scholars, particularly by Dr. D. C. Sircar who has discussed them in several articles[5] and has finally embodied the results in *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyābhavan).[6] He has identified Svabhāvatuṅga with Yayāti I and consequently with the father of the Bhauma queen Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II. He has put the reign of Yayāti I between *c.* 970 and 1000 A.D. and taken the initial year of the Bhauma Era as 831 A. D. We have identified Svabhāvatuṅga with Janamejaya I and consequently with the father of the above-mentioned the Bhauma queen, put the reign of Yayāti I between *c.* 922 and 955 A. D. and taken the initial year of the Bhauma Era as 736 A.D. There has therefore been a vast difference between his chronology and ours. His chronology conflicts with every known fact, date and event, which we need not discuss here, but which will be apparent from our discussions in Part II. Because of these difficulties the learned editor of the above-quoted work has been unable to accept Dr. Sircar's views[7] and also to put the Kara or Bhauma rulers of Orissa within any chronological frame-work, accurate or approximate. Only the Bhauma years found from the inscriptions have been put against the individual rulers in the

5. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148-155; *JAS* (Letters), 1953, Vol. XIX, pp. 117-124; *Orissa Hist. R.J.*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 289-300; Vol. IV, pp. 51 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 220-24; p. 189 ff.

6. Vol. IV, pp. 145 ff; Vol. V, pp. 209 ff.

7. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 149 fn. 51.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

genealogy published.[8] All these differences, difficulties and conflicts have resulted from the misreadings and the misinterpretations of the relevant portions of the inscriptions as shown by us in Appendix I.

PART II

Untruths and inaccuracies conflict with each other and also with truths and accuracies. If our chronology has unawares been an outcome of any big error, it will certainly conflict with the dates and facts hitherto known to scholars and still to be discovered by us relating to the history of both the dynasties. We therefore deal here with such facts of their history as are connected with their chronology. It is not our purpose to write their history.

The Bhauma-Karas

We have taken 736 A.D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era, but it has yet to be shown that this date fits in with the foundation of the Bhauma kingdom in Orissa from which the era started. The foundation of the Pāla kingdom in Bengal and that of the Bhauma kingdom in Orissa were not removed from each other by any great length of time and in each country it had been preceded by a period of confusion and anarchy as is attested to by Tāranātha's accounts.[9] The circumstances connected with the rise of the Pālas have, to some extent, been known, but the same in the case of the Bhauma-Karas have still remained shrouded in obscurity. Certain references in one inscription of Nepal, which are likely to clear the obscurity, have not received the due attention of scholars. It is stated in the Paśupati Temple Inscription that Rājyamatī, queen of the Nepalese king Jayadeva, was the daughter of Śrī Harṣadeva who conquered Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala.[10] Nepal and Assam were contiguous kingdoms and if we calculate from the date of the destruction of Bhāskaravarman's dynasty by Śālastambha, Śrī Harṣa or Harṣavarman, king of Assam, can very well be regarded as a contemporary of the Nepalese king Jayadeva. The matrimonial alliance between the two kingdoms as suggested by the above-mentioned inscription is therefore more than a probabi-

8. *Ibid*, p. 63.
9. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 65.
10. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 138.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

lity and the conquests attributed to Śri Harṣa of Assam in the same inscription should not also be lightly brushed aside. Śivadeva and his son Jayadeva of Nepal ruled from *c.* 714-752 A.D.[11] We do not know the duration of each reign, but if we allow a reign of 20 years to Śivadeva, his son Jayadeva would have started his rule in 734 A.D. We may therefore put the beginning of the reign of Śrī Harṣa, father-in-law of Jayadeva, a little earlier in about 728 A.D. and this brings us nearer the foundation of the Bhauma kingdom in Orissa in 736 A.D.

In the Paśupati Temple Inscription Rājyamatī, daughter of Harṣavarman of Assam, has been described as *Bhagadatta-rājakulajā*.[12] The Bhaumas of Orissa likewise claim their descent from Bhagadatta.[13] It is therefore very likely that Śrī Harṣa's family and the Bhaumas of Orissa originally belonged to the same vigorous non-Aryan tribe.

In Orissa the early rulers of the Bhaumas became Buddhists and their conversion to Buddhism is attested to by the Tibetan tradition that Luipā converted an Orissan king into the same religion.[14] Both Kāmarūpa and Uḍḍīyāna (identified by many with Orissa) were the primary *piṭhas* of Vajrayāna and the main deities of the sect, Jagannātha and Kāmākṣyā, respectively of Orissa and Assam (Kāmarūpa), were established on the spots bearing the identical name Nilāchala. The autographed Buddhist manuscript received by the Chinese emperor Tet-song in 795 A.D. from the king of Orissa[15] would have, in all probability, passed through Assam, Nepal and Tibet and thence to China. Assam and Nepal had matrimonial relation and the latter at this stage of its history had come under the overlordship of the Tibetan king Kri-son-Ide-btsan (A.D. 755-97)[16] who, as usual, must have acknowledged the the suzerainty of his contemporary Chinese emperor Te-tsong. These facts indicate close cultural and family rela-

11. *HCIP*, Vol. III, p. 137.

12. S. K. Chatterji, *The Place of Assam in History and Civilization of India*, pp. 29-30.

13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 7; Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 36.

14. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 267.

15. *Ibid*, p. 64.

16. *Ibid*, p. 58.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

tions between the kings of Orissa and Assam. Therefore the conquest of Bengal and Orissa attributed to the Assamese king Śrī Harṣa in an authentic inscription should not be brushed aside. It is just possible that the confusion and anarchy in Bengal and Orissa spoken of by the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, had been caused by the invasion of Śrī Harṣa prior to the establishment of the Pāla and Bhauma kingdoms.

A branch of the ruling family of Assam, which thus appears to have been established in Orissa during Śrī Harṣa's invasion, came to be known as the Bhauma or Kara family and founded a small kingdom in 736 A.D. with its capital at Guhadeva Pāṭaka or Guheśvara Pāṭaka mentioned in all Bhauma copper-plate grants. This place should be identified with Guhira Ṭikrā[17] which is about 5 miles from Virajā or Jājpur[18] and which is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Khaḍīpadā from which several Buddhist images including an inscribed Avalokiteśvara giving the name of Śubhākaradeva,[19] have been discovered. Guhadeva Pāṭaka was most likely associated with Guha or the Guhas mentioned in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata as the rulers of Kaliṅga, Māhiṣya (Mednapore) and the Mahendra Mountain. The Guhas and the Bhaumas should not however be taken as identical or as contemporaries on the evidence of a single manuscript of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa which the editior, Mr. Wilson, himself thinks to be "extremely doubtful."[20]

A thorough examination of art and architecture is likely to provide evidences of the mutual exchange of styles and art motifs between the two branches of the same family ruling in Orissa and Assam, but here we only refer to two images of

---

17. *Ṭikrā* means a mound and therefore the remaining part of the name Guhira may be regarded as a corruption of Guheśvara. Gohira Ṭikrā is in reality a part of the sacred *kṣetra* of Virajā, which according to orthodox conception extend over *pancha krośa* or ten miles.

18. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 87-89.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 247 ff; *Proce. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1949, pp. 66 ff.

20. "The only grammatical reading that I find—and it occurs in only one MSS.—is as follows :

Kaliṅga - Māhiṣaka - Mahendrān - Bhauma - Guha bhokṣanti; which makes the rulers Guhas of Bhauma(?). This is, however, extremely doubtful." *Visnu Purana* translated by H. H. Wilson, 1865, Vol. VI, p. 220 fn.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Gaṅgā, one found at Dah Parvatia in the Tezpur District of Assam[21] and the other from Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District of Orissa, now preserved in the Patna Museum (Plate I). These are the only two images of Gaṅgā so far discovered in any part of India, which stylistically and iconographically possess such close similarity. The present writer is not aware of a third specimen of the type to be found in any other part of India. The Assamese specimen is earlier to the Orissan one by about three centuries, but yet the continuity of the tradition has been remarkably preserved in the latter. The omission or the occurrence of certain details in both appears to have been occasioned by the exigencies of the available space. The tradition of art exhibited by the Orissan specimen must have come from Assam.

From all these evidences it appears that Kṣemaṅkaradeva, a member of the ruling family of Assam, founded the Bhauma kingdom in Orissa in 736 A.D. Nothing is known of his other achievements. His son and successor Śivakaradeva I *alias* Ummaṭṭasiṁha was the real maker of the fortunes of the kingdom. He conquered Koṅgoda and the Northern part of Kaliṅga as is evident from the Ganjam Grant of the Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva of Śvetaka who has styled himself as *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*, but has acknowledged the overlordship of the king Unmaṭṭakeśarī of Virajā (Jājpur) who can be no other than Śivakara-Unmaṭṭasiṁha of the Bhauma Dynasty.[22] The Talcher Plate of Śivakaradeva (III) dated in the Bhauma year 149 (A.D. 885) has however represented Unmaṭṭasiṁha's son Śubhākara I as the conqueror of Kaliṅga.[23] It is just possible that Śubhākara was associated with the conquest of Kaliṅga during his father's reign and has therefore been given the credit of its conquest. An analogous instance is to be found in the Brahmeśvara Inscription[24] in which Uddyotakeśarī has been credited with the wars or conflicts with certain powers, which had actually taken place during his father's reign.

In the aforementioned Talcher Plate Unmaṭṭasiṁha has been given the credit of having taken away the daughter of the

21. *Ann. Rep. Arch. S.I.*, 1924-25, Plate XXXII(a) and (b).
22. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 489-493.
23. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 47.
24. *JASB, Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Rāḍha king along with his fortune after defeating the latter in a fierce battle.[25] The name of Unmaṭṭasiṁha's queen who became the mother of his son Śubhākara I appears in another inscription as Jayāvalīdevī.[26] His conquest of Kaliṅga has not found mention in any of the records of his immediate or distant successors, but all the same his conquest of Kaliṅga is proved independently by the aforementioned Ganjam Plates of the Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva. The defeat inflicted by him on the king of Rāḍha (south-west Bengal) and his marriage with the daughter of the Rāḍha king have not found mention in the records of his immediate successors, but, for that reason their authenticity should not be doubted. For more than one reason a political event may not find mention in the contemporary records. We have shown above how and why the conquest of Orissa by the Somavaṁśīs, which was a great achievement of their dynasty, did not find mention in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions except in a non-official one belonging to the reign of a distant successor of the conqueror. Compared to the contemporary rulers of other regions the Bhauma rulers have been extremely modest in their claims of aggression or conquest. In their palmy days they held the whole of modern Orissa along with the territories then known as Kaliṅga and Daṇḍakabhukti. The inclusion of Kaliṅga (the tract between Ganjam and the Godāvarī river) and Daṇḍakabukti (the Mednapur region) is proved by the abovementioned charter of Jayavarman and the Baud Plate of Pṛithvī Mahādevī,[26a] but yet the rulers of the Bhauma kingdom, which would not have grown into such a big state all at once, have cared little to refer to the gradual conquest of these territories.

In the light of the above facts the claim made in the Talcher Plate of Śivakaradeva (III) that Unmaṭṭasiṁha defeated the king of Rāḍha (south-west Bengal) and forced him to give his daughter in marriage, should not be doubted. When Unmaṭṭasiṁha was ruling in Orissa, Bengal was still in a state of disorder and therefore the Rāḍha king defeated by him cannot be identified.

---

25. Such expressions are familiar in Indian inscriptions. The expression under reference only means that he forced the king of Rāḍha (south-west Bengal) to give him his daughter in marriage. It does not mean that he carried away his daughter.

26. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 8.

26a. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 210 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

We have already stated that in 795 A.D. the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong received an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a part of the *Avataṁśaka*, from the king of Orissa who "had deep faith in the Sovereign Law" and whose name has been translated as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion."[27] The first three kings of the Bhauma Dynasty were Buddhists and have respectively been styled in the Bhauma records as *Paramopāsaka, Paramatathāgata* and *Paramasaugata.*[28] Of them, the second and the third kings respectively bore the names of Śivakara and Subhākara. The last name was borne by as many as five kings, but in all the inscriptions of the dynasty it appears as Śubhākara (the store of purity) and not as Śubhakara. So the only name left is that of the second king of the dynasty, which answers to the Chinese translation. It appears that the Orissan king gave his name in his autograph as "Śriman-Mahārāja Śivakara Unmaṭṭasiṁha" which has been translated as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." The only word which was not translated is *Unmaṭṭa* (Sanskrit *Unmatta*) which means 'mad' and which was therefore considered inappropriate for the name of a friendly and distant foreign monarch who had sent a present to the Chinese Emperor. The aforesaid Ganjam Plates of Jayavarmadeva contains a date which has been read by Pandit Binayak Misra[29] as 50 (A.D. 786), but Dr. R.C. Mazumdar[30] is inclined to read it as 20 (A.D. 756). In either case Śivakara Unmaṭṭasiṁha becomes a contemporary of the Chinese emperor Te-tsong. The Bhauma Era of 736 A.D. started from the date of the coronation of Śivakara's father who would have ruled at least for 15 to 20 years. Therefore, if the date is read as 20 we should take it to have belonged to the early part of Śivakara's reign and allow him a reign of 30 to 35 years. We should also allow a period of 5 to 10 years for the transmission of the manuscript which, as already stated, would have passed through Assam, Nepal and Tibet to reach

---

27. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, pp. 64-65.
28. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 71.
29. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XII, 1936, p. 493, and Plate.
30. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, pp. 63, 79 fn. 30.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

the Emperor in 795 A.D. It may be that Śivakara was dead when the manuscript was received by the Chinese Emperor. We may put the end of his reign in about 790 A.D.

We get three Bhauma years 54, 73 and 93 (A.D. 790, 809 and 829) falling in the reigns of Śubhākara I, Śivakara II and Śāntikara I respectively. Of these, the reading of the first two has been doubted,[31] but nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Śubhākara I and Śivakara II ruled between A.D. 790 and 829. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and the Pālas of Bengal claim in their inscriptions to have invaded Orissa during this period. It is stated in the Sañjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III (A.D. 795-814) conquered Kośala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Ḍāhala and Oḍraka. Under Govinda III the Rāṣṭrakūṭas became invincible everywhere and there is therefore little doubt that they also invaded Orissa (Oḍraka).[32] It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa, which would have taken place in the reign of Śubhākara I, has been described in the *Mādalāpāñji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannātha at Puri, in a strangely distorted form as the Raktavāhu invasion. Mr. A. Stirling who wrote his work in 1822 and who had access to the unadulterated tradition of Orissa, has reproduced the entire story of the Raktavāhu invasion narrated in the *Mādalāpāñji*.[33] The main outline of the story is that in the reign of Śubhanadeva when Raktavāhu approached Puri with his army, the king of Orissa fled from the city with the images of Jagannātha and his associates lodged in a cart and reached his western frontier in Sonepur where he buried the images at a place known as Gopāli; and that after a lapse of 146 years, Yayāti Keśarī (Yayāti I of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty) got the images dug out, made new images, built a new temple at Puri and enshrined them there. Gopāli, a village with a shrine of Jagannātha, still exists at a distance of 16 miles from Sonepur. The *Mādalāpāñji* which is *par excellence* a chronicle of Jagānnatha, has correctly preserved certain facts relating to the history of his temple, though it has blundered while dabbling in the political history of Orissa. Govinda III ruled

31. *Ibid*, pp. 63, 79 fn. 31.

32. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 7.

33. *An account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, pp. 67-68 (Reprinted from the original edition of 1822. Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904).

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

from A.D. 793 to 814 and his contemporary of Orissa Śubhākaradeva I can be identified with Śubhanadeva of the *Mādalāpāñji*. Yayāti I ruled from *c.* A.D. 922 to 955. Therefore the interval of 146 years fits in with the reigns of Govinda III and Śubhākara I on one hand and Yayāti I on the other. A passage in the Hindol Plate of Śubhākaradeva (III) dated in the Bhauma year 103 (A.D. 839) appears to hint at a calamity that had overcome Śubhākara I.[34]

In the Pāla records it is claimed that Devapāla of Bengal exterminated the Utkalas and when he invaded Orissa, its king fled from his capital.[35] The claim that the Utkalas were exterminated is an exaggeration, but the statement that Devapāla invaded Orissa represents the truth. It seems that the Pāla emperor not only invaded Orissa, but also succeeded in bringing it under his political hegemony. Devapāla ruled from *c.* 810 to 850 A.D. and therefore his invasion of Orissa would have taken place during the reign of Śivakara II. The distress, disorder and the loss of prestige and power caused in the Bhauma kingdom by the Rāṣṭrākūṭa and Pāla invasions appear to have been reflected in the statements recorded in the Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevī I, dated in the Bhauma year 110 (A.D. 846) which describe the sad plight of Orissa prior to her accession. It is stated that "the Kara family had to depend upon nothing but their past glory" and that the kingdom looked like a female "who had a distressful

---

34. Misra—*Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 14-17.

The relevant passage has been translated as "It was heard that being an overlord, he was deserted by the soldiers (lit. horsemen), but his glory was never impaired by his adversaries and he was the best of men." This verse like many other verses of the Bhauma copper-plate inscriptions, is capable of yielding two meanings. The word *visādī* means "one who was deserted by his horsemen" and it also means "one who was sad (*viṣādī*)." Similarly the word *Puruṣottama* means "the best of men" and it also means "the city of Puruṣottama" which is another name of Puri. It appears that the king was first deserted by his army and was therefore forced to run away from Puri taking with him the images of Jagannātha etc. which were considered to be the most sacred and most valuable property of his dynasty.

35. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 50.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

heart." It is further stated that when Orissa was in such a sad plight, Lalitahāra (i.e. Śāntikara I) "received the palm (*i.e.* married) of the daughter of Rājamalladeva, the frontal mark of Southern region, who pulverized the mountain-like enemies by his thunder-like arms".[36]

It becomes clear from the above statements that Tribhuvana Mahādevī received substantial help from her father Rājamalladeva of the southern region and retrieved the lost position of the Bhauma kingdom. In the copper-plate grant of her own son Śubhākaradeva III Tribhuvana Mahādevī has been described as the daughter of the diadem of *Nagodbhava-kula* which in plain words means the Gaṅga Dynasty.[37]

---

36. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 29.

37. The reading *Śrīman-Nagoḍbhava-kula* distinctly occurring in line 9 of two copper-plate grants (*JBORS*, XVI pp. 69-83 and Plate; Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 21-22 and Plate) has been read by the editor as *Śrīman-Nāgoḍbhava-kula*. He has taken the medial sign *e* of *go* as the medial sign *ā* and has connected it with the preceding letter *N*. He has not however explained how in that case the reading, instead of being *Nāgādbhava*, will become *Nāgodbhava*. The reading *Nāgādbhava* gives no meaning and is moreover grammatically incorrect. There is therefore no doubt that the correct reading is *Nagodbhava*. *Nagodbhava-kula* can be interpreted either as the Śailodbhava dynasty or as the Gaṅgā dynasty. The former dynasty actually existed in Orissa and was superseded by the Bhauma-Karas, but no king of that dynasty bore the name Rājamalla. The Śailodbhava dynasty ruled in the south-eastern coast of India, but our record describes Rājamalla as the frontal mark of the southern region. Four kings of the Western Gaṅga Dynasty, bearing the name Rājamalla, ruled in Mysore which strictly belongs to the south. Of the four, as we have shown, Rājamalla I who ruled from A.D. 817 to A.D. 853, was most powerful. He is also known to have made matrimonial alliances with other kingdoms with a view to increase the power and prestige of his dynasty. He should therefore be fittingly identified with Rājamalla described as the father of Tribhuvana Mahādevī I. According to the available data Tribhuvana Mahādevī I was ruling in Orissa in 846 A. D. Rājamalla I started his reign in 817 A.D. and this shows that his daughter was ruling in Orissa after he had ruled for 29 years. Such a difference of time between the reign-periods of a father and a daughter is quite possible.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

We have therefore no difficulty in identifying her father Rājamalla of the south with Rājamalla I of the Western Gaṅga Dynasty of Mysore, who ruled from 817 to 835 A.D.[38] Rājamalla I was a powerful king who freed the Western Gaṅga kingdom from the imperialism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by taking advantage of the minority of Amoghavarṣa. He preserved the integrity of his kingdom and strengthened it by matrimonial alliances. In his inscriptions he has been compared with "Vishnu in the form of a Boar, rescuing the earth from the infernal regions." He retrieved not only the fallen fortunes of his own kingdom, but also of the Bhauma kingdom as the statement recorded in his daughter's record indicates. It is he who appears to have put an end to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pāla domination in Orissa. Since the Bhauma year 93 (A.D. 829) falls within the reign of Śāntikara I, the Pāla invasion of Orissa would have taken place before this date.

Śāntikara I,[39] Śubhākara II and Śubhākara III were ruling in A.D. 829, 836 and 839. These dates themselves suggest some internal troubles in the Bhauma Kingdom. It is to be observed from the genealogy that Śubhākara I had two sons, Śivakara II and Śāntikara I, both of whom ruled after their father. But while the descendants of his younger son Śāntikara I continued to rule the Bhauma kingdom up till the end of the dynasty, the Elder Branch represented by Śivakara II, terminated with his son Śubhākara II. It appears that the claims of the Elder Branch to the throne were set aside because of its submission to outside aggression and domination and the Younger Branch retrieved the lost prestige and powers of the kingdom with the help of an external power who, as we have already seen, was the great Western Gaṅga king Rājamalla I.

The marriage of Śāntikara I with the daughter of Rājamalla was thus a turning point in the political history of the Bhaumas. It was also a turning point in the history of their religious faith. Tribhuvana Mahādevī has been represented as a great devotee of Viṣṇu and it has been stated that "During her rule the country advanced in three branches (of administration); the foes were extirpated, the glory spread

38. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 160.
39. See Appendix I(e).

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

abroad and there was harmony among the people. With the head sanctified with the dust of the lotus-like feet of Hari, she enjoyed an unparalleled fortune and thought that there was no other work for her to do."[40] The high praise bestowed on her by the contemporary Orissan records is also substantially borne out by the accounts of the contemporary Arab and Persian geographers, which we have discussed separately in Appendix II. These accounts mention the main divisions of Orissa and state that "the royal power in them belongs to Dahum (Bhaum or Bhauma). Dahum does not consider any one (*hich kas*) superior to himself and is said to have an army of 300,000."[41] They also further state that "The royal power belongs to a woman who is called *rāyinā*."[42] The earliest Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih who speaks of a woman ruler of Orissa, wrote his geograpy in 846 A.D.[43] and he was no doubt a close contemporary of Tribhuvana Mahādevī I. We therefore put the synchronisms obtained from three different sources with regard to her reign, in the following tabular form:

Rājamalla I, A.D. 817-853, father of Tribhuvana Mahādevī.	Tribhuvana Mahādevī, A.D. 846.	Ibn Khurdadhbih, A.D. 846.

We have already dealt with the main points connected with the Bhauma chronology since the reign of Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II who was the daughter of the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya-Svabhāvatuṅga of Kośala. Her accession to the Bhauma throne in about 891 A.D. with the help of her father sowed the seeds of dissensions in the Bhauma family, which ultimately led to its extinction and prepared the way for the occupation of Orissa by the Somavaṁśī king Yayāti I in about 931 A.D. It will be seen from our above discussions that the reigns of the two Bhauma queens Tribhuvana Mahādevī I and Tribhuvana Mahādevī II provide us with the clues to the chronology of the entire dynasty. They also represent the turning points in the history of the Bhauma kingdom. The accession of Tribhuvana

40. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 37.

41. *Ḥaḍud al 'Alam*, University Press, Oxford, 1937, pp. 26-27.

42. *Ibid*, p. 86.

43. *Ibid*, p. 168.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Mahādevī I to the throne in about 846 A.D. marked the revival of the Bhauma kingdom after a period of external domination, but its decline started with the succession of Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II in about 891 A.D.

The Somavaṁśīs

Certain facts mainly connected with the chronology of the Somavaṁśīs should now be dealt with. We have stated that Yayāti I occupied Orissa in about 931 A.D. and that the last two female rulers of the Bhauma Dynasty, Vakula Mahādevī and Dharmmā Mahādevī, were perhaps the nominees of the Bhañjas who were ruling over the territories comprising Baud and adjoining areas. The statement is based on certain evidences to be found in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhaumas, the Bhañjas and the Somavaṁśīs. In the Kumuranga Plate[44] Daṇḍī Mahādevī is described in a verse as "an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Kara kings", but in the Taltalai Plate[45] which contains a verbatim copy of the same only with the substitution of *Bhañja* for *Kara,* Vakula Mahādevī is described as "an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Bhañja kings". Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has therefore observed: "There is hardly any doubt that Vakula Mahādevī belonged to the Bhañja family, and it is also not unlikely that her paternal relations played some part in the politics of the Kara kingdom at this period. The succession of four queens one after another probably indicates troublesome times for the Kara dynasty which led to its downfall at no distant date, and the Bhañjas might have played a prominent part in the final stage."[46]

The Bhañjas were occupying the territories lying between ancient Kośala (the Sonepur-Sambalpur region) and Utkala (the coastal districts of Orissa) and therefore it would have been hardly possible for Yayāti I to occupy Orissa before ousting the Bhañjas from these territories. That he had succeeded in ousting the Bhañjas from these territories is

44. *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 564 ff; Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 60 ff.

45. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 218, 221.

46. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

proved by one of his copper-plate grants, issued in his thirteenth regnal year, which mentions the gift village as situated in the *maṇḍala* of Gandhaṭapati.[47] Gandhaṭapaṭi otherwise mentioned as Gandharavāḍi in a later Bhañja inscription,[47a] is now known as Gandharāḍi situated at a distance of about 12 miles from Baud, a subdivisional headquarter of the Phulbani District, and has two ancient temples still standing there.[48] As Dr. D. C. Sircar[49] has pointed out, Gandhaṭapaṭi was apparently named after Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa of the Bhañja Dynasty of Dhṛitipura, which owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. The occupation of Gandhaṭapaṭi by Yayāti I clearly shows that he successfully ousted Śatrubhañja from the Baud region. As already mentioned, two of Śatrubhañja's copper-plate records are dated in the Bhauma year 198, which proves that he was ruling in 934 A.D.[50] It is thus almost certain that it is he who took a prominent part in the final stage of the Bhauma kingdom and set up the last two female rulers on the Bhauma throne. It is also very likely that Yayāti I would have fought with Śatrubhañja and ousted him from the Baud region, or else it would not have been possible for him to build up the united kingdom of Kośala and Utkala.

The re-establishment of the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri with a temple built there, was another great work of Yayāti I. We have shown above how the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa has survived in the traditions of the *Mādalā Pāñji* as Raktavāhu invasion and how the interval of 146 years between the removal of the images from Puri and their re-installation by Yayāti Keśarī, fits in with the chronological positions of the Rāṣṭrokūṭa emperor Govinda III (793-814 A.D.) and the Bhauma king Śubhākara I on one hand and Yayāti I (*c.* 922-

47. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 96-97. The name twice occurs in the plate as Gandhaṭapaṭi (l. 5) and Gandhaḍapaṭi (l. 16), but the editor Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, has misread it as Gaṇuṭapaṭi. Gandhaṭapaṭi also occurs in the Singhara Plates of Raṇabhañja, *JBORS*, II, pp. 481 ff.

47*a*. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 277-78.

48. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II., pp. 344-47; Plate facing p. 160.

49. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, p. 148.

50. *Orissa Hist. R. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 208 ff; Vol. IV, pp. 67 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 189 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

955 A.D.) on the other. There is no reason to doubt a genuine tradition which preserves a historical truth though in a distorted form as all traditions do. Yayāti I and Choḍagaṅga were both *Paramamāheśvaras*, but on their first occupation of Orissa both built temples on the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri, a fact which indicates the great sanctity attached to the shrine by the people at large. Yayāti's work at Puri was both political and religious and was meant to be spectacular. We have already spoken of another tradition which credits Yayāti Keśarī with the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice at Jājpur, to which ten thousand Brahmins are said to have been invited by him from Kanauj. Yayāti I united Kośala and Utkalla politically and culturally and can justly be regarded as the father of modern Orissa. The grateful posterity remembered him and made him the hero of the numerous traditions still current in the land. Yayāti Keśarī is almost a household name in Orissa and all living monuments irrespective of their age are generally attributed to him.

Of Yayāti's son Bhīmaratha (*c.* 955-980 A.D.), nothing is known. It is stated in the Bilhari Stone Inscription of the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja II that Lakṣmaṇarāja who ruled at Tripurī (Jabalpur) from *circa* 945 to 970 A.D.,[1] "worshipped Someśvara with that (effigy) of Kālīya wrought of jewels and gold, which had been obtained from the prince of Oḍra, after defeating the lord of Kośala."[2] The statement shows that Oḍra or Orissa was under the overlordship of Kośala, so that the defeat of the lord of Kośala led to the acquisition of the jewelled image of Kālīya (the serpent) from the prince of Orissa. It further shows that, though Orissa had become a part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom by the second quarter of the tenth century, it had a prince of its own who, as we have already pointed out, must have been a subordinate ruler or a prince-viceroy appointed by the Somavaṁśī king. The system of appointing subordinate rulers for Orissa therefore started from the reign of Yayāti I and continued in subsequent reigns. The conflict between the Kalachuri and Somavaṁśī kingdoms as evidenced by the aforementioned Kalachuri record, would have taken place in the reign of Bhīmaratha.

1. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. lxxxvi.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Nothing is also known of Dharmaratha (*c.* 980-1005 A.D.) and Nahuṣa (*c.* 1005-1021 A.D.) except that the invasions of some contemporary powers took place in the reign of the latter. Indraratha, a subordinate ruler of Orissa ruling at Yayātinagara (Jājpur), who was appointed either by Dharmaratha or by Nahuṣa and who was most likely another son of Bhīmaratha, came into conflict with the contemporary powers and has therefore figured in their records. We have already discussed at some length the defeat inflicted on him by the Choḷa army at Yayātinagara (Jājpur) in about 1021 A.D. In the earlier part of his rule he came into conflict with the army of Paramāra Bhoja of Malwa (*c.* 1000-1055 A.D.).[3] In the Udepur Praśastī it is stated that Bhoja's army defeated the lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Tommaṇṇa and Bhīmaṭa.[4] Since Bhoja is known to have made an alliance with Gāṅgeya-devā, the Chedi king referred to the *praśastī* should be identified with Gāṅgeyadevā's father Kokallā II (*c.* 990-1015 A.D.).[5] The ruler of Tommaṇṇa which is no doubt a variant of Tummāṇa,[6] the earlier capital of the Ratnapur Branch of the Kalachuri Dynasty, should be identified with Kaliṅgarāja (*c.* 1000-1020 A.D.)[7] and Bhīmaṭa with Bhīmaṭa III (*c.* 1005-1030 A.D.) of the Saryūpāra Kalachurī Dynasty.[8] Paramāra Bhoja's army would have been at war with these princes in the earlier part of his long reign sometime before 1015 A.D. All the princes grouped together in the above-quoted passage of the Udepur Praśastī belong to the Kalachuri Dynasty except Indraratha who was a Somavaṁśī prince and who appears to have allied himself with the

---

3. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 66-67.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 222-238 and Plate; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1657. Dr. Buhler reads these names occurring in line 20 as *Chedīśvar-Eṁdraratha-(Toggala-Bhīma-pramukhān)*, but the letters standing for them actually read as *Chedīśvar Eṁ-draratha-Tommaṇṇa-Bhīmaṭa(ā)-khyān*. The reading *Toggala* does not give any meaning and the letter read as *pra* is really *ṭa*.

5. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. lxxxviii.

6. *Ibid*, p. cxvii.

7. *Ibid*, pp. cxviii-cxx.

8. *Ibid*, p. cxii. Bhīmaṭa III's son Vyāsa ascended the throne in 1031 A.D. Therefore we have approximately put the reign of his father between 1005 and 1030 A.D.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Kalachuris for the purpose of defence. Bhoja made an alliance with the Choḷa king Rājendra Choḷa of Tanjore and the Kalachuri King Gāṅgeyadeva for the conquest of the Chālukya kingdom of Kalyāṇa. Each of these allies is also credited in their records with the invasion of both Utkala and Kośala.[9] It would thus appear that the three great powers of India, viz. the Paramāras, the Choḷas and the Kalachuris, invaded the Somavaṁśī kingdom within a short period which coincided with the reign of Nahuṣa. These invasions might have resulted in the death or the dethronement of both Nahuṣa and Indraratha and must have produced chaotic conditions in the Somavaṁśī kingdom. To save the kingdom from anarchical conditions, the minsters of the state chose Yayāti II Chaṇḍīhara, a member of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty, as king, who appears to have been a distinguished soldier and a man of great valour.

These facts are fully borne out by the Somavaṁśī records. It is stated in the Brahmeśvara Inscription that "when he (Dharmaratha), the Rājamalla (the best of the kings) departed unto heaven without issue, all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time. Then Chaṇḍīhara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravīra, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janamejaya, was made king by the ministers; and he was powerful and spirited like his father."[10] Again in the Balijhari (Narsinghpur) Copperplates of Uddyotakeśarī it is stated that "The two arms of whom (Yayāti II) accomplished their objectives by completely rendering free of enemies the two kingdoms, Utkala and Kośala, besieged by the combatant kings."[11] These statements are confirmed by Yayāti II's own record wherein he is stated to have been the chosen lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kośala.[12] These references leave no doubt that Yayāti II was chosen as king by the ministers and the people and they further show that Orissa had been a part of the Somavaṁśī

9. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 61.

10. *JASB, Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.

11. *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 106; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 206 ff.

12. *JBORS*, Vol. II, p. 53.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

kingdom when he was chosen as such, or else the ministers and people of Orissa would not have welcomed a prince of an alien dynasty which had no previous connection with it.

In the early part of his reign Yayāti II (*c.* 1025-1040 A.D.) must have been busy in restoring internal peace and in driving out the external enemies. The external enemies would have been the Choḷas and the Ḍāhalas (the Kalachuris) who had respectively been associated with Rājendra Choḷa and Gāṅgeyadeva in their invasion of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. This position is borne out by the statement occurring in the Brahmeśvāra Inscription that Uddyotakeśarī fought, as it were in child-play, with Ḍāhala, Choḍa (the Choḷas) and Gauḍa.[13] It means that even when he was very young he fought with these enemies of his father in the latter's reign. By the third year of Yayāti II's reign when he issued his Maranja-Mura Charter,[14] this position however appears to have been changed. Ḍāhala does not appear in the list of the enemy territories given in this epigraph, with which Yayāti II is said to have been involved in conflicts. The omission of Ḍāhala is significant. It seems that he had made an alliance with the Ḍāhala king Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī (Jabalpur) and therefore he appears to have helped the latter by attacking Gauḍa and Rāḍha (South-west Bengal) when Gāṅgeya attacked Aṅga. All these territories were under the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (*c.* 998-1038 A.D.). Yayāti II's alliance with Gāṅgeyadeva brought him into conflict with several other contemporary powers and therefore the claims made in his charter that he was at war with Karṇṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kāñchi (the Choḷa country), Gauḍa and Rāḍha and that he maintained friendly relations with Vaṅga (East Bengal),

13. *JASB, Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 72. In line 10 of the eye-copy of the epigraph these names have been read as Ḍāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa, but the word Choḍa, which is without doubt the same as Choḷa according to the Orissan phonetics, is to be clearly found. Oḍra or Orissa could not have been an enemy country of Yayāti II or his son, because they were themselves the kings of Orissa. Dr. D.C. Sircar justifies the reading Oḍra by stating that "the ruler of Oḍra was probably one of his father's adversaries (*HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 212)." This is, however, highly hypothetical.

14. *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 45-55.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

should not be taken as imaginary.[15] The Kalachuris under Gāṅgeyadeva came into conflict with all these powers and therefore Yayāti too was a party to such conflicts. The king of Vaṅga (East Bengal) at the time of Rājendra Choḷa's invasion in about 1021 A.D., was Govinda Chandra who might have been a contemporary of Yayāti II. The Orissan king attacked Gauḍa and Rāḍha (South-west Bengal), but cultivated friendship with the king of Vaṅga. This shows that hostility existed between Mahīpāla and Govinda Chandra and Yayāti wanted to take advantage of it.

Yayāti's son and successor Uddyotakeśarī (*c.* 1040-1065 A.D.) appears to have had a comparatively peaceful reign. The invasion of Orissa by Kalachuri Karṇa (*c.* 1042-1073 A.D.) took place during his reign, but the Somavaṁśī kingdom appears to have withstood it and survived intact. We have already stated that Uddyotakeśarī assigned Kośala to Abhimanyu who was probably a Somavaṁśī prince and who ruled Kośala as a subordinate ruler. Uddyotakeśarī's hold on Kośala as its overlord is proved by his grant of the village Lañjirā identified with a village of the same name in the old Sarangarh Feudatory State. The gift village was included in the *bhukti* of Pṛithurā identified with Pithorā in the Padampur tract, about 45 miles to the north-west from Sambalpur. The grant was issued from Kisarakellā identified with the village Kesarkelā, about 6 miles to the east of Bolangir. The location of these places clearly indicates that Uddyotakeśarī was the master of the entire old Kośala country. The letters of this charter which was issued in the 11th year of his reign, closely resemble those of the Brahmeśvara Inscription. The writer of the charter was *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rudradatta, son of Deva-datta.[16] Rudradatta is known from the aforesaid charter of Yayāti II to have been the grandson of Harṣadatta and the nephew of Siṁhadatta. This Datta family which heredi tarily served the Somavaṁśī kings, originally came from Ayodhyāpura[17] which can be no other place than Ayodhyā in the Faizabad District of U. P.

---

15. For the reading and the interpretation of the passage containing these names, see Appendix I (f).

16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135 ff.

17. *Ibid*, p. 136; *JBORS*, Vol. II, p. 51; *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 211.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

The disintegration of the Somavaṁśī state started from the reign of Uddyotakeśarī's son Janamejaya II (1065-1085 A.D.). It appears from the Ratnagiri Plates of Karṇadeva that Janamejaya II came into conflict with a Nāga king.[18] The Nāga king Someśvara I of Bastar, who ruled from 1069 to 1110 A. D., is also credited with having waged war against Uḍra (Orissa).[19] There is therefore little doubt that the Somavaṁśī kingdom and the Nāga kingdom were at war in the reign of Janamejaya II, but the war ended in the victory of the Nāga king. A Telgu-Choḍa ruling family, of which we shall speak later on and which was holding a feudatory status in the Nāga kingdom of Bastar, established itself in the Somalpur-Sonepur region with Sonepur as its capital. That part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom was thus lost to Janamejaya II. His reign also witnessed the invasion of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja I Devendravarman (1070-1078 A.D.), father of the great Choḍagaṅga,[20] which must have resulted in the loss of the southern territories of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. The process of disintegration would have also continued in the reign of his son Purañjaya (*c.* 1085-1100 A.D.). We have already seen that Daṇḍakabhukti (the Mednapore region) was a part of the Bhauma kingdom[20-a] and therefore it would have also been a part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. The Mednapore region must have been lost during the reign of Janamejaya I or Purañjaya, because we find from the *Rāmacharita* that this region was under a feudatory of the Pāla king Rāmapāla.

It thus appears that when Purañjaya's younger brother Karṇa (1100-1110 A.D.) ascended the throne the Somavaṁśī kingdom was confined only to the coastal tract comprising the present districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. This small and mutilated kingdom became sandwiched between the two powerful states in the north and the south. In the north Rāmapāla (*c.* 1077-1120 A.D.) was trying to revive the lost prestige of the Pāla Empire and in the south the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1078-1150 A.D.), the long-lived and most powerful prince of his age in Eastern India, was trying to push his frontiers further north at the expense of the

18. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 266 fn. 3.
19. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 216-18.
20. *Ibid*, p. 205.
20-*a*. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXIX, p. 210 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Somavaṁśī kingdom. It is stated in the commentary of the *Rāmacharita* that Jayasiṁha, a subordinate ruler of Mednapore under Rāmapāla, lifted Karṇakeśarī, the lord of Utkala, with his palm.[21] In thē Korni Plates of Choḍagaṅga it is stated that he reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala.[22] These two statements indicate that while the Pāla king ousted Karṇa from his throne, the Gaṅga king helped him to regain it. Choḍagaṅga was not however helping Karṇa out of benevolent motives. He was merely seeking an opportunity to annex the entire Somavaṁśī kingdom. The ability and the morality of Karṇa, the last descendant of Dharma-Kandarpa Janamejaya, can easily be imagined from the fact that "for the increase of the religious merits and the fame of his ownself and his parents", he granted a rent-free village to a dancing girl, Karpūra-śrī by name, who had become his queen. In the charter granting the village instead of her father's and grandfather's names we find the names of her mother and grandmother, which proves that she belonged to a family of professional dancing girls.[22] From the traditional sources we find the evidences that there were treachery and dissensions among the officers, which Karṇa was unable to check. It is stated in the *Mādalāpāñji* that Vāsudeva Ratha, the commander-in-chief (*Vāhinīpati*) of the Somavaṁśī army, invited Choḍagaṅga to invade Orissa. Beyond the frontiers the Gaṅga king was watching the developments in Orissa and also an opportunity to invade. After receiving the invitation, as the chronicle describes it in a picturesque language, one day he came in disguise, pounced upon Cuttack and made himself king (*nāṭa veśare āsi Kaṭaka māḍi vasi rājā hoilā*).[24] This happened in about 1110 A.D. and the Somavaṁśī ruling family passing through the vicissitudes of the time for over six centuries, ultimately became extinct.

Kośala during the Later Somavaṁśī Period

From the Sonepur Copper-plate of Kumāra Someśvara-deva,[25] it becomes evident that Abhimanyu was appointed by Uddyotakeśarī to rule over Kośala (the Sambalpur-Sonepur

---

21. Edited by MM. H. P. Sastri, p. 36.
22. *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.
23. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 263 ff; p. 269 ff.
24. *Mādalāpāñji* (Prachi Edition), p. 22.
25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 237-243; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

region). The relation between Abhimanyu and Uddyotakeśarī is not known, but the former would have been a member of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty. It is also not known when Abhimanyu's rule in Kośala ended. His successor in Kośala was apparently Someśvara who issued the aforesaid charter from Suvarṇṇapura (Sonepur). We have stated above that there was a conflict between Janamejaya II and the Nāga king Someśvara of Bastar and that the latter succeeded in wresting Kośala from the Somavaṁśī king. In occupying Kośala the Nāga king was helped by a Telgu-Choḍa family which ultimately ruled this newly acquired territory with their capital at Sonepur. But before this arrangement materialised there appears to have been a short period when Kumara Someśvara, was allowed by the Nāga king to become the ruler of Kośala. This supposition is borne out by several evidences to be found in the aforementioned charter of Kumāra Someśvara. Someśvara describes himself as a member of the Soma-kula, but does not mention his relationship with any Somavaṁśī king nor acknowledges their overlordship. He calls himself Kumārādhirāja, but paradoxically uses the full sovereign titles of *parama-māheśvara, parama-bhaṭṭāraka and parameśvara*. Besides these unusual characteristics, Dr. D. C. Sircar[26] has also noticed the distinct influence of the Telgu-Choḍa records on the passages like *Soma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāskara* and *śrī-Someśvara-deva-pādāḥ kuśalinaḥ* occurring in Someśvar's aforementioned charter. It is very likely that the Nāga king won over to his side this Somavaṁśī prince Someśvara and engaged him for sometime for his own political purpose. He made him the ruler of Kośala but kept him under the control of his trusted Telgu-Choḍa lieutenants whose influence is to be found in the text of the copper-plate record of the Somavaṁśī prince. The Telgu-Choḍa family which helped the Nāga king of Bastar in conquering the Sonepur region, ultimately ousted the Somavaṁśī prince Someśvara from that region and made themselves the master of it. They were a feudatory family ruling over a small principality with their capital at Barāsūru, modern Bārsur in Bastar and owing their allegiance to the Nāga kings of that state.[27]

26. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
27. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 219.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Before the conquest of the Sonepur region by the Nāga king Someśvara, it had also come under the possession of the Bhañjas for sometime. We have seen that Yayāti I had driven out the Bhañjas from the Bavd region including the important locality Gandhaṭapaṭi or Gandharavāḍi, but sometime during the life-time of Abhimanyu, the subordinate ruler of Kośala appointed by Uddyotakeśarī, or soon after his death, the Bhañjas again occupied Gandharavāḍi and also for sometime ruled from Svarṇṇapura or Sonepur. These facts are very clearly found in the Baudh Plates of Saloṇabhañja, son of Durjayabhañja and grandson of Śilābhañja. It is stated in this charter that "śrī-Śilābhañja of great fame recovered by the strength of his own arms the *maṇḍala* known as Gandharavāḍi which was being enjoyed by force by the Somodbhavas (*i. e.* the Somavaṁśīs). His son, Durjayabhañja by name, ruled with his residence at Svarṇṇapura (*i.e.* Sonepur)."[28]

Dr. D. C. Sircar has done invaluable work by re-editing and elucidating the copper-plate records of Kumāra Someśvara[29] and of the Telgu-Choḍa rulers of Sonepur.[30] The genealogy of the Telgu-Choḍa rulers as worked out by him and by Mr. M. Venkataramayya[31] also appears to be correct, but we are unable to accept their conclusion that the Telgu-Choḍa rule at Sonepur extended up to 1180 A.D.[32] This date has been obtained by calculating from 1060 A.D. when, according to the Barasur Inscription,[33] Chandrāditya, father of Yaśorāja II, was living and by assigning 25 years to each reign of the Telgu-Choḍa rulers. While extending the Telgu-Choḍa rule in Kośala up to 1180 A.D., Dr. Sircar and Mr. Venkataramayya do not however appear to have taken into consideration certain very important points. They have not considered the period of the Kalachuri rule in the Sonepur

28. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 277 (lines 3-5 of the text). The present writer, while editing this copper-plate inscription, did not notice the importance of this passage nor explained its historical significance.

29. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.

30. *Ibid*, p. 285 ff ; *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 219 ff.

31. *Ibid*, p. 284.

32. *Ibid*, p. 289.

33. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 219 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

region which is attested to by the references to its conquest in the Kalachuri inscriptions and by the discovery of the Kalachuri coins in the same region. They have also not considered the possibility that Yaśorāja II and his son Someśvara II might have ruled simultaneously, the former in their hereditory principality in Bastar and the latter in the newly conquered Sonepur region. Therefore the assignment of two reign periods each consisting of 25 years, to both these rulers was not necessary. The allotment of 25 years to each reign as they have done in their chronology of the Telgu-Choḍa family, is conventional, but not always correct. For all these reasons it is not possible for us to accept their chronology of the Telgu-Choḍa rulers. Our own scheme of chronology about the succession of the rulers and the ruling families in the Sonepur region during the later Somavaṁśī Period, is as follows :

A. *The Somavaṁśī Rule*

We do not know the name of the subordinate ruler who was appointed by Yayāti II for Kośala, but it is known that Abhimanyu, apparently a member of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty, was appointed by Uddyotakeśarī (*c.* 1040-1065 A.D.) to rule over the Kośala country.

B. *Bhañja Occupation.*

Durjayabhañja, son of Śilābhañja, occupied Sonepur and made it his capital for sometime.

C. *The Nāgavaṁśī Rule*

Kumāra Someśvara, a Somavaṁśī prince, ruled from Sonepur for sometime as a nominee of the Nāga king of Bastar. He appears to have been ousted in about 1069 A.D. by the Telgu-Choḍa family, of which the following members ruled from Sonepur :

Someśvara II (*c.* 1069-1088 A.D.)
Dhāralladeva (*c.* 1088-1095 A.D.)
Someśvara III (*c.* 1095-1119 A,D.)

The last ruler Somaśvara III, known as Bhujavala in the Kalachuri records, was defeated and driven out from Sonepur by Jājalladeva I (*c.* 1090-1120 A.D.), the Kalachuri king of Ratnapura.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

D. *The Kalachuri Rule*

Since the days of Jājalla I the Kalachuris of Ratnapura remained in the occupation of the Sonepur region till the reign of Pratāpamalla when it was annexed to the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa during the reign of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (A.D. 1216-1235).

Among the Telgu-Choḍa rulers of Sonepur, Someśvara II and Someśvara III are known to have ruled at least for seventeen and twenty-three years respectively. We have accordingly assigned a reign-period of 19 years to the former and of 24 years to the latter. No inscription of Dhāralladeva who appears to have had a short reign, has been discovered.

There are both epigraphic and numismatic evidences to show that Sonepur was in occupation of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura since the reign of Jājalladeva, who ruled from *circa* 1090 to 1120 A.D.[34], and who must have ousted the last Telgu-Choḍa ruler from the Sonepur region. In the Sheorinarayan Plates of Ratnadeva II it is stated that Jājalladeva I "destroyed Bala even as Indra killed Vṛittra"[35] and in the Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva III it is also stated that Jājalladeva I "by the might of his arms deprived Bhujavala, the lord of Suvarṇapura, of his power in a hostile encounter."[36] Prof. Mirashi has rightly concluded that Bala of the former inscription is "clearly Bhujavala, the lord of Suvarṇapura,"[37] of the latter epigraph. We do not however accept Prof. Mirashi's surmise that Bhujavala was a Somavaṁśī prince and that he was a successor of Abhimanyu.[38] We are also unable to accept Dr. D. C. Sircar's view that Bhujavala is to be identified with the Somavaṁśī prince Kumāra Someśvara of the Sonepur copper-plates.[39] Dr. N. K. Sahu comes nearer the truth when he identifies Bhujavala with Someśvara II of the Telgu-Choḍa family of Sonepur,[40] but it is Someśvara III and not Someśvara II, who was the last of

34. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. cxxiii-cxxv.
35. *Ibid*, Part II, p. 422.
36. *Ibid*, Part II, p. 540.
37. *Ibid*, Part II, p. 420.
38. *Ibid*, Part I, pp. cxxiv-cxxv.
39. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 213.
40. *Orissa Hist. R. J.*, Vol. III, pp. 135-136.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

the Telgu-Choḍa rulers. Our above quotations from the Kalachuri inscriptions will show that Bhujavala, the lord of Suvarṇapura, was deprived of his rulership by Jājalladeva I and if credence is given to the statement recorded in the earlier epigraph, he was killed by the latter. The claims of the Kalachuri records are supported by the fact that after Someśvara III no trace of the Telgu-Choḍa ruling family of Sonepur can be obtained from any source. Therefore, we shall have to identify Bhujavala of the Kalachuri inscriptions with Someśvara III.

A few words are necessary to explain the meaning and the origin of the surname or the popular title Bhujavala. Like Keśarī and Gajapati, Bhujavala was a popular title or name by which all the Telgu-Choḍa rulers of Sonepur were known. It means the ruler who depends on the strength of his own arms. The *virudas* of the Telgu-Choḍa rulers found in their copper-plate records begin as *ari-durādhara-vara-bhuj-āsi-bhāsura-etc.*[41] They therefore claimed that their arms were so strong that could wield such swords as could be carried with difficulty by their enemies. This claim would have given them the popular name Bhujavala. Bhujavala as a title or surname still survives in Orissa. A chieftain bearing the title Bhujavala rose in revolt during the Bhuyan Rebellion in Keonjhar against the grandfather of the present Rājā. The Somavaṁśīs of Orissa were popularly known as Keśarīs and their names with this popular designation have been obtained from all traditional works of Orissa including the *Mādalā-pāñji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannātha at Puri. Therefore Bhujavala of the Kalachuri inscriptions cannot be identified with the Somavaṁśī prince Kumāra Someśvara.

We have stated above that the Telgu-Choḍa rulers of Sonepur were the feudatories of the Nāga king of Bastar, but in the later part of the reign of Someśvara III their relationship with Bastar appears to have changed. Dr. D. C. Sircar has noticed that Someśvara III changed his feudatory titles and even assumed the imperial title of *Chakravartin*.[42] The Telgu-Choḍa chiefs were under the Nāga king Someśvara I who was a very powerful monarch and had a long reign from 1069 to

41. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 286.
42. *Ibid*, pp. 288-289.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

1110 A. D. It is after his death or defeat at the hands of Jājalladeva I, the Kalachuri king of Ratnapur, that Someśvara III would have changed his relationship with his overlord family. The defeat and the humiliation inflicted on the Nāga king by Jājalladeva have been described by Prof. Mirashi in the following words:

"These conquests brought him into conflict with Someśvara, the Nāgavaṁśī king of Chakrakoṭya. The latter was a foe worthy of his steel. He (Som śvara) had defeated the rulers of Uḍra (Orissa) and Veṅ ī, and had carried fire and sword into Lañji and R tnapura. He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shaṇṇavati (96 villages) of K śala and assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara.* The Kuruspal inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses, namely the towns, Lañji and Ratnapura.

Jājalladeva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Nāga king, slew his immense army and took him cative together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jājalladeva set them free. His Ratnapura inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of such a prince in this earth?" This event must have occurred sometime before 1110 A.D. which is the approximate year of Someśvara's death."[43]

Thus it is after the defeat or death of the Nāga king Someśvara that the Telgu-Ch ḍa Someśvara III modified his feudatory titles and even assumed the imperial title *Chakravartin.* But his semi-independent status did not last long and, as we have shown above, he was defeated and perhaps killed by the Kalachuri king Jājalla deva I in about 1119 A.D., which led to the extinction of the Telgu-Choḍa rule in the Sonepur region. From above-quoted passage of Prof. Mirashi's work it will be seen that Nāga king Someśvara defeated the ruler of Uḍra (Orissa) and captured Kośala with the tract known as Shaṇṇavati consisting of 96 villages. Shaṇṇavati as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Yayati I[44] and appears to be a Prākṛitised form of Svarṇṇavatī which, as

43. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv.
44. *JASB*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 19 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

another name of Suvarṇṇapura or Svarṇṇapura (Sonepur), also occurs in the Mahada Plates of Someśvaradevavarman.[45] Therefore, our above conclusion that the defeat of the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya II (*c.* 1065-1085 A.D.) by the Nāga king Someśvara led to the conquest of the Sonepur region, a part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom, is supported by the identification of the aforementioned place-name Shaṇṇavati. When Sonepur was conquered by the Nāga king, the Somavaṁśī prince Someśvara, the issuer of the Sonepur Plates, was perhaps already there as the subordinate ruler appointed by the Somavaṁśī king, but the Nāga king raised him up for a while to the status of an independent ruler and, as stated above, kept him under the control of his trusted Telgu-Choḍa lieutenants. The subordinate rulers of Utkala and Kośala appointed by the Somavaṁśī kings had no power to issue copper-plate grants and therefore no copper-plate grant of such rulers has up till now been discovered. Kumāra Someśvara, originally a subordinate ruler of Kośala, emboldened by his temporary independent status conferred on him by the Nāga king, not only issued a copper-plate grant, but also used sovereign titles in it.

The Telgu-Choḍa rule in the Sonepur tract began with the conquest of that tract by the Nāga king Someśvara I of Bastar and continued to exist for a period of about 10 years after his death. The occupation of the Sonepur region by the Kalachuris of Ratnapura is also indicated by the occurrence of their gold coins in that region, which have recently been examined by Mr. B. B. Nath.[46] These gold coins, which were originally found at Sonepur and at Baidyanath, a village with a temple of the Lord Baidyanātha referred to in the Telgu-Choḍa records as their tutetary deity,[47] belong to Ratnadeva II, Pṛithvīdeva II and Jājalladeva II. Some other gold coins of the same dynasty are also reported to have been found in the upper Mahānadī valley, particularly at Barambā.[48]

---

45. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 285-292.
46. *Orissa Hist R. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff. and the Plate.
47. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 284.
48. *Orissa Hist. R. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

There was a long and bitter struggle between the rulers of Ratnapur and the Gaṅga kings of Orissa for the possession of the Sonepur region which the Gaṅgas must have claimed as the successors of the Somavaṁśīs in Orissa. The Kalachuri records credit Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II with having respectively defeated Choḍagaṅga and his son and successor Jaṭeśvara *alias* Madhu Kāmārṇṇava.[49] The Śeorīnārāyan Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva II[50] gives us the definite information that the fight between Choḍagaṅga and Ratnadeva II took place at Śeorīnārāyan, a wellknown place of pilgrimage on the left bank of the Mahānadī, 38 miles south-east of Bilaspur in the Janjgir *tahsil* of the Bilaspur District in Madhya Pradesh. The position of the battle field indicates that the fight was for the possession of the Sonepur region. The Gaṅga records are silent about their fight with the Kalachuris, which indirectly confirms the claims of the latter that they defeated the Gaṅgas.

The Sonepur region continued to be in the possession of the Kalachuris and, as we have stated earlier, it came to the possession of the Gaṅgas in the reign of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (A.D. 1216-1235) as is evidenced by the Chāṭeśvara Inscription.[1] The long struggle appears to have ended in an amicable settlement. Anaṅgabhīma gave his daughter Chandrikādevī in marriage to Paramardīdeva, a member of the Haihaya or Kalachuri Dynasty, who became his general and fell fighting in the war against the Muslims of Bengal. The widowed lady Chandrikā built the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar in 1278 A.D.[2], which still stands there. The subsequent possession of the Sonepur region by the Gaṅga kings of Orissa is proved by the Sonepur Stone Inscription of Bhānudeva I, grandson of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III.[3]

---

49. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. cxxvi-cxxviii.

50. *Ibid*, part II, pp. 519 ff.

1. R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 261 ff ; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX, p. 125.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 150-155 ; *Hist. of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, 202, fn 3.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 325 ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

APPENDIX I

The present writer is indebted to those scholars who have edited the epigraphic records utilised in this little work. He has also the greatest respect for their knowledge of epigraphy, erudition and devotion, but it has not been possible for him to accept their readings and interpretations of certain material portions of the epigraphs which provide data for the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavaṁśīs. These portions are being re-edited below, so that the revised chronology given in this monograph can be judged and vertified in the light of the amended readings and fresh interpretations.

(a) A verse which describes the exploits of Yayāti I in capturing 32 elephants and in rescuing the captured women, occurs in one of the charters of his son and successor Bhīmaratha (*Ep. Ind*, III, p. 356, lines 20-23 and plate) and in two of his own later charters (*JASB*, I, 1905, pp. 17-20). It has mostly been misread and misinterpreted. We give below our reading of the relevant portion of the verse from the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III (facing p. 356).

jitv-ājā(a)pālam=aj-aupanita (aj-opanīta)-
sura-vadhū-vismaya-smera-vaktraḥ
sa dvātriṁśa-ke(tka)rīndrān śara-nikara-hat-ārohakān-
agrahīd-yaḥ ||

Trans - Having put on a smiling face at the perplexity of the heavenly damsels (forcibly) brought to the drove and having defeated the protector of the drove, he captured 32 elephants whose riders had been killed with arrows.

Dr. Fleet reads the beginning portion as *jitvā jāvālam= ājau patita-sura-vadhū-vismaya-smera-vaktraḥ khadgī.....*, but does not give its translation. Mr. Laskar reads it as *jitv-Ājāpālam=ajau janita-sura-vadhū-vismayaḥ smera-vaktraḥ* and translates it as "Having defeated Ajāpāla in battle, astonished the heavenly damsels....." He thus takes Ajāpāla to be a proper name. Dr. D. C. Sircar accepts this interpretation and states that Yayāti I "defeated a certain ruler named Ajapāla of whom nothing is known (*HCIP*, IV, 147)." Mr. Laskar takes *aja* or *ajā* as meaning battle, but *aja* or *ajā* does not mean battle nor does it give the form *ajau* in the Seventh Case-ending Singular Number. *Aja* means herd or flock moving together and here it certainly means the troop of 32

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

elephants moving together, which were captured by Yayāti I after defeating the protector of the troop (*aja-pāla*). Ajapāla is therefore not the name of a person or a ruler. There is an abundance of poetic fancies in the verses of this inscription and therefore it is no wonder that the women, who had been brought to the elephant troop obviously for the purpose of being carried away, and who were obviously rescued by Yayāti after the capture of the elepants, have been described as heavenly damsels.

Our above interpretation will be all the more clear from our interpretation given in (b) below, of two other verses occurring in another charter of Yayāti, which describes in detail his exploits of capturing the elephants and rescuing the captured women.

(b) A short supplement, comprising three verses, engraved at the end of a copper-plate grant of Yayāti I issued in the eighth year of his reign, gives some more details of his exploits of capturing the elephants and rescuing the captured women. This record along with his two other copper-plate grants and one of his father Janamejaya, which had been sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, by the former Patna State (now included in the Bolangir District of Orissa), was given to Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar for decipherment. Mr. Laskar edited them in *JASB*, 1905, pp. 1-26, but did not publish their facsimiles. Since the facsimiles of the inscriptions had not been published, his readings had remained unverified. Dr. D. C. Sircar had however access to the originals of these records which appear to be still in the possession of the Society or the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Of the four copper-plate grants, he has, of late, re-edited along with the facsimile the copper-plate grant of Yayāti I belonging to his eighth regnal year (*JAS*, Letters, XIX, 1953, pp. 117-124). Of the three verses occurring in the above-mentioned supplement of this record, the first had been correctly read by Mr. Laskar, but his reading of the next two verses had remained almost meaningless. Dr. Sircar has improved upon his reading, but he too has wholly missed the context and the import of the entire supplement. The text is no doubt defective and its condition has been described by Mr. Laskar in the following words:

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

"The engraving is deep, but it has been done with extreme haste and carelessness, so that many letters and sometimes whole words have been omitted through mistake."

Nevertheless, the letters omitted can be restored and the meaning of the last two verses of the supplement can be fully interpreted in the light of the interpretation of the verse given in (a) above, which contains in brief the incidents elaborated in these two verses. We give below our reading and the interpretation of the three verses of the supplement occurring in lines 43-50, from the facsimile reproduced by Dr. Sircar in *JAS, Letters*, 1953 (facing p. 125).

43. .....*So=bhu* (*bhūn=*)*nṛipaḥ So-*

44. *ma - kul - āvja* (*bja*) - *bhānuḥ Svabhāvatuṅgo nija-pauruseṇa*|*yaḥ Kosalā-*

45. *pālana-kaumud-endur*(*kaumud-īndur*)*=vijitya Chau* (*Chai*)*dyān=vitatāna*

lakṣmīḥ (*lakṣmīm*)|(|*) *Rāmā-ha-*

46. *rā*(*ṁ**)*ś = Chedipa-*(*dvipa**)*-vaddhā*(*ān**) (*gha**)-*ṭān sa-bhaṭa-cheḍi*(*ī*)*-prabhṛiti*(*ī*) *n*(|*) *maṇḍanikā-*

47. *n-prā*(*grā*)*hita - śa*(*sa*)*rvva - rāmāḥ sa - Lakṣmaṇo Rāmo iv=āpta se-*

48. *tuḥ*(*tum*) (|*) *Tasmāta*(*t*) *sū*(*su*)*to Viṣṇur = iv = ājanyeṣṭā* (*ṣṭaṁ*) *yva*(*ya*)*d - Jyu*(*Yu*)(*va**)*rājam - vighaṭa - pratā-*

49. *paṁ*(*m*|) *tṛiṇāya Chaidyaṁ vata*(*na cha*) *manya-māno dagdhā*(*dagdhvā*) *Ḍahālā* (*Ḍāhalāṁ*) *vijanā-*

50. *ñ=chakāra*|o|

Trans-That Svabhāvatuṅga, who was like a sun to the lotus of the Soma family and who was like a full moon in protecting the Kosala country, became king by his own manliness and by defeating the Chaidyas (Kalachuris) spread the fortune. His son, like Viṣṇu, without caring a fig for the immensely powerful Chaidya (Kalachuri) Yuvarāja, the best among those unfit to be born, depopulated Ḍāhala by burning it; and like Rāma in the company of Lakṣmaṇa, took to the boundary (of his own kingdom) the troops of elephants belonging to the king of Chedi (the Chedi or Kalachuri country) and engaged in carrying away women, along with the soldiers, maid-servants etc., the decorators and the captured women.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

The meaning of the entire supplement is quite clear and there is no ambiguity whatsoever in any part. Though badly inscribed, it is in simple Sanskrit. The first verse speaks of Svabhāvatuṅga and the next two of his son who was obviously the donor Yayāti I and who has been credited in three other copper-plate grants with the capture of the thirty-two elephants and the rescue of women as shown above in (a). The next two verses represent Yayāti I as the son of Śvabhāvatuṅga. Therefore Svabhāvatuṅga can be no other person than Janamejaya I who is also known to have become king by his manliness (*nija-pauruṣeṇa*). In the next two verses there is only one subject, viz. *sutaḥ*. The world *setu* in the second verse has two meanings. In the case of Rāma with whom Yayāti I has been compared, it means 'the bridge', *i.e.*, the *setu-vandha* and in the case of Yayāti I, it means 'the border' or 'the boundary' of his own kingdom. There is a *sandhi* between *ajanya* (a man unfit to be born) and *iṣṭa* (the best), which has given the compound *ajanyeṣṭā(ṣṭaṁ)* in line 48. The compound *yad-Yuvarājam* has certainly been wrongly inscribed as *yvad-Jyurājam* in line 48. In Orissan inscriptions the distinction between *ya* and *ja* has not always been observed as both the letters are pronounced alike in Orissa. For instance, Yayāti is sometimes found written as Yajāti (*JBORS*, II, 46). Here the scribe wanted to write Yuvarāja as Juvarāja or Jyuvarāja, but in his own careless way omitted *va*. The readiug *sa Durgarājam* as given by Dr. Sircar is not at all justified by the letters standing for it. It may be noted that there was no king named Durgarāja in the Chaidya, Chedi or Ḍāhala country distinctly mentioned in these three verses, but there were two kings in this country bearing the name Yuvarāja. There is therefore no doubt that the name which the scribe wanted to inscribe was Yuvarāja.

Many of the important and most relevant words of the second and third verses have been misread by Dr. Sircar. For instance, *vaddha(ān*) (gha*)ṭān, cheḍi(ī)-, maṇḍinikān prā (grā)hita-, ajanyeṣṭā(ṣṭaṁ)* and *yva(ya)d-Jyu(Yu)(va*)-rājam* have respectivaly been read by him as *vaddhaṭān (vaddha-paṭṭān), Pedi-,muṇḍam nikany=āhita-,ajaniṣṭā* and *sa Durgarājam*. Consequently the meaning of these two verses has not been made clear by him. He has not given the translation of the text, but has summarised his interpretation of the

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

entire supplement in the following words in the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan), Vol. IV (p. 147):

"A short supplement, comprising three verses, engraved at the end of a charter of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta, tells us that a king of Kośala of the lunar dynasty (Soma-kula), named Svabhāvatuṅga, defeated the Chaidyas or Kalachuris of Ḍāhala (modern Jubbulpore region). It seems further to say that certain lieutenants of the Chedi (Kalachuri) king, headed by Bhaṭṭa-Peḍi, were honoured by their master for invading the Somavaṁśī kingdom and carrying away a number of women, but the Somavaṁśī monarch, aided by a general named Lakṣmaṇa, pursued the Chedi forces into the enemy's territory, killed Bhaṭṭa-Peḍi and rescued the captured women. It also describes how Svabhāvatuṅga's son (whose name is not mentioned) cared little for the Chaidya (Kalachuri king) named Durgarāja and burnt the land of Ḍāhala (the Chedi country) rendering it depopulated."

It is needless to say that his interpretation is not at all borne out by the text of the supplement.

(c) There are three inscriptions belonging to the reign of the Somavaṁśī king Uddyotakeśarī, son and successor of Yayāti II Chaṇḍīhara Mahāśivagupta II, which are found engraved on the cave-temples of Khaṇḍagiri, about six miles from Bhubaneswar, the new capital of Orissa. One of them is found in the Lalāṭendu Keśarī Cave and the remaining two in the Navamuni Cave. The one in the Lalāṭendu Keśarī Cave and one of the two in the Navamuni Cave expressly refer themselves to the reign of Uddotakeśarī and since the donor of the third one is also the donor of the inscription in the Lalāṭendu Keśarī Cave, all of them undoubtedly belong to his reign. These inscriptions have not however been properly edited by Prof. R. D. Banerji who has given their texts, translations and interpretations along with the facsimiles in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, 1915-16, pp. 165 ff. Since our amended readings are numerous, it is thought best to reproduce his readings and translations along with ours, so that they can be easily compared and verified.

(1) *Inscription of Uddyotakeśarī in Lalāṭendu-keśarī Cave*

Prop. Banerji's reading and translation:

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

TEXT

1. *Oṁ Śrī-Udyotakesarī-vijaya-rājya-samvat* 5
2. *śrī-Kumāraparvvata-sthāne jirnna vāpi jirnna Isaṇa*
3. *udyotita tasmina thāne chaturviṁsati tīrthā[ṁ]kara*
4. *sthāpita pratīshṭhā[kā]le Ha[ri]oppa Jasanandika*
5. *Kma(?) da(?) ti(?) dratha(?) Sri Parasyanathasya karmma-khayaḥ*

TRANSLATION

"In the year 5 of the victorious reign of illustrious Uddyotakesarī (Uddyotakeśarī), on the illustrious Kumāra mountain, decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine, (and) at the place the images of the twentyfour Tīrthāṅkaras were set up. At the time of the dedication..... Jasamandi.....in the place (?Temple), of the illustrious Pārasyanātha (Pārśvanātha)....."

The amended reading and translation:

TEXT

1. *Om Śrī[ma*]d - Udyotakesa(śa)rī - vijaya - rājya Samvat* 549

2. *Śrī-Kumāra-parvata-sthāne jiranna-vāpi jirnna-puska-(ṣka)[ri*]ṇī*

3. *udghāṭikṛita snāne pāne* (|*) *Chaturviṁsa(śa)ti Tīrthāṅkara*

4. *sthāpita* (|*) *Yat-na- pāṣāṇḍa hānipi(-ny-api) śṛī-(śri)-jat-sa dāmbhika*

5. *kroddha(dha)odayām Śrī-Pārasyanāthasya karmma-hetuḥ* (|*)

TRANSLATION

In the year 549 in the victorious reign of Śrī-Udyota-keśarī the decayed wells and the decayed tanks were shown (*i.e.* cleansed) for bathing and drinking and (the images of) twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras were established (*i.e.* carved on the walls of the cave) on the auspicious Kumāra-parvata. If any heretic causes even damage (to them), such a cheat (will) excite the anger of Śri-Pārśvanātha by his act.

---

4. *Na* is superfluous.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

As Prof. Banerji has pointed out, Kumāra-parvata was the ancient name of Khaṇḍagiri. In the Hātīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela Udayagiri has been referred to as Kumārī-parvata. The twin hillocks now known as Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, situated close to each other with a narrow depression in between them, were evidently called Kumāra-parvata and Kumārī-parvata at least upto the middle of the eleventh century A.D. which is the approximate date of the present inscription.

At the end of the first line of the epigraph two other digits occur after 5, which Prof. Banerji has left unnoticed. The year recorded, as read by me, is 549. If this reading is accepted and there are reasons to believe that it will be accepted, the year 549 has to be referred to the Gaṅga Era generally taken to have commenced from 496 A. D. The date of the present inscription will thus be 1045 A. D. which falls within the reign period of Udyotakeśārī as ascertained from other sources.[5] In the official records of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty to which Udyotakeśarī belongs, no era except the regnal years of the kings is found to have been recorded. The present inscription is, however, a non-official record, and when it was engraved in the reign of Udyotakeśarī, the Gaṅga Era with a long history of its use had become widely current in southern Orissa. It is therefore not at all improbable that the Gaṅga Era might have found place in this non-official record, particularly if the donor belonged to that part of the country where the Gaṅga Era was widely used.

(2) *Inscription of Udyotakeśarī in the Navamuni Cave*

Prof. Banerji's reading and translation:

TEXT

1. *Oṁ Śrīmad - Udyotakesaridevasya pravarddhamāne vijaya-rājye Samvat* 18

2. *sri-Ārya-saṁgha-prativaddha-Graha-kula-vinirggata-deśigaṇa-ācārya-srī-Kulachandra-*

3. *bhaṭṭārakasya tasya śishya-Subha-chandrasya*

TRANSLATION

The year 18 of the increasing and victorious reign of the illustrious U[d*]dyotakeśarī-Deva. (The work of) Śubha-chandra, the disciple of the lord the illustrious ācārya

5. *Ind, Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 300-307.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Kulachandra, (who) belonged to the Graha Kula of the illustrious Ārya congregation (and belonged to) the Deśīgaṇa. [Rather *āchārya* of the Deśī *gaṇa* derived from the Graha Kula, belonging to the illustrious Ārya *saṁgha*.-F.W.T.]

The amended reading and Translation:

TEXT

1. *Oṁ Śrīmad-Udyotakesa(śa)ri-devasya*
   pravarddhamāne vijaya-rājye Samvat 18
2. *Śrī-Āryasaṁgha-prativaddha-Grahadvāla-vinirggata-*
ṛiśī(ṣi)gaṇa
   āvā[sā]ya Śrī-Kulachāndra-*
3. *Bhaṭārakasya tasya śiṣya Su(Śu)bhachandrasya|*
   (Here occur the symbols of Naddīpadas) x *chai* 1

TRANSLATION

In the year 18 of the ever-increasing and victorious reign of Śrī Udyotakeśarī-deva (this cave temple) belongd to (*i.e.* was caused to be excavated by) Śubhachandra, disciple of Śrī Kulachandra Bhaṭāraka, for the abode of the sages belonging to Āryasaṁgha and coming from Garhwal. One cave temple.

The text is in incorrect Sanskrit.

In the last line there occur after *Śubhachandrasya* a full stop, four Nandīpada symbols with a corolla at the centre and x *chai* 1, which have not been noticed by Prof. Banerji. In the main body of the text there is no mention of the work which was done by Śubhachandra and which warranted the engraving of the inscription, but this work has been indicated in an abbreviated form at the end of the epigraph by x *chai* 1, which stands for *chaity* 1 (one cave-temple). Evidently the cave-temple on which the inscription occurs, was caused to be excavated by Śubhachandra for the abode of the sages who came from Garhwal, mentioned in the inscription as Grahadvāla but read by Prof. Banerji as Grahakula. Another serious misreading is *deśī* in place of *ṛiṣi*.

(3) *Second Inscription in the Navamuni Cave*

Prof. Banerji's reading and translation :

TEXT

1. *Oṁ Śrī-āchārya-Kulachandrasya tasya*
2. *sishya-Khalla-Subhachandrasya*
3. *chhātra Vijo*

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

TRANSLATION

(The work of) *Vijo* (*Vidya* or *Vidyā*), the pupil of Khalla Śubhachandra, (who was) the disciple of the illustrious *Āchārya* Kulachandra.

The amended reading and translation:

TEXT

1 *Oṁ Śrī - āchārya - Kulachandrasya tasya*
2 *siṣya chellu Su(Śu)bhachandrasya ||*
3 *chhatra-dho(dhva)ja*

TRANSLATION

The umbrella with the staff belongs to (*i.e.* dedicated by) Śubhachandra, novice-disciple of Śrī *āchārya* Kulachandra.

In the second line of the present inscription there occurs a full stop after *Subhachandrasya* and then in the third line occur the words *chhatra-dho(dhva)ja*, i.e., the staff with the umbrella which was the object dedicated by Śubhachandra. Prof. Banerji's reading *Khalla* in 1. 2 does not give any meaning. The letters representing it clearly read *chellu* which is derived from the word *chelluka* meaning a novice-follower and which has further been corrupted into the modern word *chellā*.

There is another smaller inscription in the same cave which Prof. Banerji reads under XVa as "*Śrīdhara chhātra* i.e. the student Śridhara." But the letters actually read *Śrī-cha(chī)rachhatra* i.e. the prosperous cloth umbrella. Dedicating umbrellas to deities was a common practice with the Buddhists and the Jainas. A late Brāhmī inscription discovered at Sārnāth (Bārāṇasī) records the erection of a Bodhisattva image and an umbrella with a post (*chhatrayaṣṭi*) dedicated by *bhikṣu* Bala.[6] Two other inscriptions originally belonging to Sahet Mahet[7] also record the dedication of an umbrella and the post of the umbrella for a Bodhisattva image. The two short inscriptions here in the Navamuni Cave similarly record the dedication of a cloth umbrella and the staff with the umbrella, the latter by Śubhachandra and the former perhaps by the same pious donor.

---

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 175 ff. No. 3, and Plate; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 241.

7. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, pp. 180-181; Vol. IX, pp. 290-291.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

(d) *The Cavindpur Fragmentary Stone Inscription*

The above inscription discovered at Govindpur in the defunct state of Nayāgarh now included in the Puri District of Orissa, has been referred to by Pandit Binayak Misra in his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 74, with its fascimile reproduced in the plate facing the same page. Pandit Misra has not edited the whole inscription, but has stated that it contains the name of Śrī-Raṇakeśarī whom he is inclined to identify with Raṇakeśarī, younger brother of the Somavaṁśī king Bālārjuna-Mahāśivagupta of the Sirpur Stone Inscription. He has further stated that year 811 occurs in this record and since the year is of an unspecified Era, it should be referred to the Śaka Era to get 889 A.D. as the date of the epigraph. Dr. D. C. Sircar apparently accepts Pandit Misra's reading of the text, but differs from him about the reading of the date which he takes to be the Gaṅga year 611 corresponding to 1107-09 A. D. (*HCIP*, V, 212). But all these conclusions are not borne out by the text of the inscription itself, which is being edited below.

TEXT

1 *Śry - Udyota - ke -*
2 *sa(śa)rī - devasya vijaya - rājye*
3 *āmīyaṁ khoditaṁ pusaka(ṣka)riṇaṁ* [|*]

TRANSLATION

In the victorious reign of Śrī - Udyotakeśarī-deva (this) nectar-like tank was excavated.

It will be seen that there is no mention in the inscription of the name of Śrī-Raṇakeśarī or of the year 811 or 611 on which the conclusions have been based. There is *a sandhi* between the letters *Śrī* and *U* in the first line, which has given the first letter *Śryu*. A close examination leaves no doubt that the first letter of the epigraph in *Śryu*. While reading the second letter as *Ra*, Pandit Misra does not account for his omission of the medial *e* which is clearly to be found to its left. He also takes the sign for *y* in the conjunct *dyo* as a part of the third letter which he reads as *ṇa*, but the form of *ṇa* which occurs as the last letter of the inscription is very different from what he reads as *ṇa*.

A few palaeographical peculiarities of the epigraph, which help us to understand the evolution of the modern Oriya script,

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

are worth noticing here. The medial ī with a loop at the top in l. 2 is exactly the same form in which it is now used in modern Oriya hand-writings. *Kha* in l. 3 occurs almost in the same form in old Oriya palm-leaf manuscripts with the difference that the loop does not occupy the entire top portion of the letter, but is seen only in its right corner. The letter *ṇa* in l. 3 has assumed almost the same form in which it is to be found in the modern Oriya alphabet. The form of the medial *o* in *dyo* (l. 1) and in *kho* (l. 3) is now used in modern Oriya writings as the sign for the medial *au*, but not *o*. A space-saving device is to be noticed in *dyo* and *kho* in which the right limbs of the letters have also been utilised for forming the sign for the medial *o*.

Usually the word *puṣkariṇī* is formed in Feminine Gender from the original word *puṣkariṇ*, but here the composer of the text has chosen to keep the original word in Masculine and consequently its adjectives are also found in Masculine. The word *āmīya* in l. 3 has perhaps been derived as an adjective from *amīya* (nectar). This adjective indicates that the water of the tank excavated, was clear and sweet. Even now in common parlance the words *amīya* and *amṛita* (nectar) are used as qualifying epithets of clear and sweet water.

It is thus apparent that there was no king bearing the name Raṇakeśari who can be taken to have belonged to the later Somavaṁśī dynasty.

(e) Two inscriptions referring themselves to the reign of the Bhauma king Śāntikaradeva are found in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, one in an artificial cave in the Dhauligiri, about 5 miles from this town and the other in the Gaṇeśa Gumphā of the Udayagiri, about 6 miles from the same place. Prof. R.D. Banerji who has edited the former in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, 1927-28, pp. 263 ff and plate and the latter in the same journal, Vol. XIII, 1915-16, pp. 165 ff and plate, has expressed a doubt whether Śāntikaradevas of both the epigraphs are identical. This doubt has however arisen from the fact that both the inscriptions have not been properly read. Our differences from his readings are numerous and substantial and therefore his readings and translations are given below side by side ours for comparison and verification.

Inscription in the Gaṇeśa Gumphā of Udayagiri

Prof. Banerji's reading and translation:

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

TEXT

1. *Śrī Śāntikara-saurājyād-ācchandrārkkaṁ*
2. *gṛihe gṛihe| Khadi(?)sa[ṁ](?)jñe punaḥ praṅge(?) ga-*
3. *jāsya-viraje jane|| Ijyā-garbha-samud-*
4. *bhūto Nannaṭasya suto bhishak| Bhīmaṭo*
5. *yāchate vānyaprastharn saṁvatsarāt-punaḥ||*

TRANSLATION

No translation has been given.
The amended reading and translation:

TEXT

1. *Śrī-Śāntikara-saurājyād-ācchandrārkkaṁ*
2. *gṛihe gṛi(śu)bhe [|*] Khodid-śaṅku-munād-raṅge Ga-*
3. *jāsy-ādhirāj=ojani|| Ijyā-garbha-samū-*
4. *dbhūto Nannaṭasya suto bhiṣak| Bhīmaṭo*
5. *yāchato (te) dhānya-prastharn*
   saṁvatsarād - anyunaḥ (naṁ)||

TRANSLATION

In the auspicious house (i.e. the cave) the elephant-faced king of kings (i.e. Gaṇeśa) was playfully born from the sharp point of the excavating chisel (to last) from the prosperous reign of the illustrious Śāntikara till the sun and the moon exist. The physician Bhīmaṭa who is the son of Nannaṭa and is born from the womb of Ijyā, (now) asks for the quantity of paddy to last for not less than a year.

Pandit Binayak Misra[7] has also re-edited this inscription, but with no substantial improvement in the reading. The text is in incorrect Sanskrit. Besides the use of the Oriya words *muna* (sharp point) and *raṅga* (mirth or play) has made it more abstruse. The compound *dhānya-prastha* has been read by Prof. Banerji as *vānya prastha* and Dr. Sten Konow, one

7. *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 10.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

of the two editors of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, in an editorial note says: "It is more probably a secondary noun derived from *vānaprastha*, anchorite." Prof. Banerji adds under his note(6) Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyavinod's suggestion that it may be *dhānya-prastha* i. e. a measure of rice, but does not accept it in his reading of the text. However, the word *prastha* denoting a measure of grains, has been used in the Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription.[8] *Saṅku* means an arrow or a spear, but since here it has been qualified by *khodit*, we have interpreted it as the excavating chisel used by a sculptor.

The epigraph appears to have been engraved in a light-hearted manner by a youthful sculptor who, after carving an image of Gaṇeśa on the inner wall of the cave temple now known as Gaṇeśa Gumphā or Chhoṭa Hātīgumphā in the Udayagiri hill, wanted to leave a record of his achievement. The inscription engraved just below the image of Gaṇeśa, only speaks of this image and its sculptor and nothing more.

Dhauli Cave Inscription of Śāntikara

Prof. Banerji's reading and translation:

TEXT

1. *Śrī-Śāntikara-deva-rājya-*[*sa*]-
2. *mvat 90 3 Ijyā garbhajena*
3. *Virajā-vāstavya-Vaidya-Na*[*nna*]-
4. *ṭa-putra Bhīmaṭa-pauttra Bhaṭṭa-*
5. *Loyoma*[*ke*]*n-Āghyakā-Varāṭī*
6. *maṭh-ā*(*o*)*yaṁ deyebhya*(?) *kārita-*
7. [*ba*]*raka*

TRANSLATION

(In) the year 93, (during) the reign of the illustrious Śānt kara-deva, this temple of Aghyakā-Varāṭi was caused to be made as a (?) gift by Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka, son of the physician Nannaṭa (and) grandson of Bhīmaṭa, who was born of the womb of Ijyā (and was) an inhabitant of Virajo.

The amended reading and translation:

---

8. *Taṇḍula-prastha-dvayaṁ*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 290; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIX, 1920, p. 28.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

TEXT[9]

1 *Śrī-Śāntikaradeva-rājya sa-*
2 *mvat* 90 3 *Ijyā-garbhajena*
3 *Virajā-vāstavyo vaidya Na*[*nna*]-
4 *ṭa-putra hīmaṭen-ātra paṭṭa*-[*śi*]-
5 *lāyām-akhvanad-śubha-varāṭim* [|*]
6 *Maṭh-ādyaṁ sthāpitaṁ kārita-*
7 [*mācha*]*ndrārkaṁ* [|*]

TRANSLATION

In the year 93 (during) the reign of Śrī-Śāntikaradeva this auspicious lodge was here excavated in the rock-boulder by Bhimaṭa who is the son of the physician Nannaṭa, an inhabitant of Virajā and who is born from the womb of Ijyā. The first monastery was (thus) caused to be established (to last) till the sun and the moon exist.

Pandit Binayak Misra[10] has also re-edited thisi nscription, but without any substantial improvement in the reading. The word *varāṭi* appears to have been derived from *varaṭa*, a particular low caste class of artisans who live in small cottages. The word evidently means a small lodge or cottage. Prof. Banerji doubts whether Śāntikara mentioned in the Gaṇeśa-gumphā Inscription, is same as Śāntikara of the present inscription. But since both the inscriptions have been engraved by the same person Bhimaṭa, son of Nannaṭa by Ijyā, it is legitimate to infer that Śāntikaras of both the inscriptions are one and the same king. Bhimaṭa has been described in the present inscription as an inhabitant of Virajā or modern Jaipur in the Cuttack District. Evidently he came from Jaipur to Udayagiri and Bhauligiri to carve an image of Gaṇeśa in one of the caves in the former and to excavate a cave in the latter. His stay at these places could not have been very long. Consequently his inscriptions at both the places have to be taken as close contemporaries and Santikaradeva mentioned in them has to be taken as one and the same king.

(f) We have stated that Yayāti II most likely made an alliance with the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva who had also

9. There were a few letters above the line beginning with *Śrī Śāntikara*, but they have not come out in the fascimile.

10. *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 11.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

made an alliance with Paramāra Bhoja of Malwa for the conquest of Cālukya kingdom of Kalyāṇa. These alliances in all likelihood involved Yayāti II into conflicts with the contemporary powers, which have found mention in a passage of his Mārañja-Mura Charter (*JBORS*, II, 53 and Plate). The claims of conquests and conflicts are generally found in exaggerated forms in all medieval inscriptions, but they are not found to be totally baseless. The claims of Yayāti II to have come into conflict with a number of contemporary powers cannot thus be totally baseless. The aforementioned passage of the charter has not been properly read and interpreted and therefore we give below our reading and interpretation of it.

Second Plate (First Site)

1.....*Karṇṇāṭa-Lāṭa - Gurjvaśvara(Gurjjareśvara)-dāha-jvarau(re) bhrūviṭa(ṭaḥ)* (|*) *Kaṇat-Kāñchī-kalāp-*

2 *ābha(ha)raṇa-lampaṭaḥ | Kaliṅga-Koṅgod-Otkalaka-Kosalā(la)-svayaṃvaraḥ(ra,-prasiddha(ddhaḥ)* (|*) *Gauḍa Rāḍh-āṃvara(r)-*

3 *pa (āpa)karṣaṇ-odghāta-māruta(taḥ)* (|*) *Śīt-āṅga-Vaṅga-vimal-āṃvara-pūrṇṇa-chandraḥ |*

Trans - (He) who is a winking sensualist in (curing) the love-fever (the war-fever) of Karṇṇāṭa, Lāṭa and the lord of Gurjjara; who is an expert voluptuary in removing the jingling girdles of women (in removing the warring Kanchi i.e., the Cholas); who was famous (successful) in the *svayaṃvara* (the essembly for the selection of a bride-groom by the bride) of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala (who was famous or successful in the selection of a lord or king for Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala); who is a fierce wind in opening and taking away the cloths of Gauḍa and Rāḍha (who is a fierce wind in the sky of Gauḍa and Rāḍha for capturing and exposing) and who is a full-moon in the clean clothes of the love-afflicted body of Vaṅga (who is a full-moon in the bright sky of the peaceful Vaṅga).

-Dāha-jvarau(re), bhrūviṭa(ṭaḥ), -kalap-ābha(ha)raṇa- and *-āpakarṣaṇa-* of our readings have respectively been read by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, the editor of the aforementioned Mārañja-Mura Charter, as *dāḍajvarī, bhū-viṭa, kalapābharaṇa* and *prakarṣaṇa* - (Ibid, p. 53). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar appears to have marked the misreading *dāḍajvarī* and corrected it into

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

dāhajvara which he has translated as "scorching fever" (*List*, No 1556). Mr. Mazumdar suggests *Draviḍajayī* as the correct reading of *dāḍajvarī* (*JBORS*, II, 53 fn. 4, 58 fn. 7), and translates *bhūviṭa* as "the paramour of the Bhū (the world)." Dr. D. C. Sircar accepts the reading *bhūviṭa* and observes: "A defective passage of the record seems to speak of the king's success against *bhūviṭa* which may be a mistake for *Draviḍa* meaning the Choḷas (*HCIP*, V, 211)." However, the letters standing for the word correctly read as *bhrū-viṭa* and not *bhūviṭa* (for the correct form of *bhrū* of this inscription cf. *bhrū* in *bhrūbhaṅga* in line 7 of the Inner Side of Plate I and in *bhrū-viṭa* in line 1 of the First Side of Plate II). Moreover, it is to be noted that in this particular passage the *praśastikāra* represents Yayāti as *viṭaḥ, lampaṭaḥ, svayamvara-prasiddhaḥ* etc. and in the context *bhūviṭa* cannot be taken to be a mistake for *Draviḍa*.

Certain words of this passage, viz. *dāha-jvara, kāñchī, svāyamvara, amvara* and *śītāṅga* give double meanings and respectively mean here the love-fever or the war-fever, the girdle or the city of Kāñchi, the essembly for selecting a husband or the assembly for selecting a king, the clothes or the sky and the body afflicted with the love-fever or the peaceful state. With these words giving double meanings, the court-poet represents the king in this passage both as a lover and a warrior.

Scholars have already discarded the view held by the earlier scholars including the editor, Mr. Mazumdar, that Yayāti, the donor of the aforesaid Mārañja-Mura Charter, was Yayāti I, son of Janamejaya I. As shown by us, the Somavaṁśī records provide the definite evidences that it is Yayāti II and not Yayāti I, who was selected as king by the ministers of the State. The present charter provides the same evidence that Yayāti, the donor, was selected as the lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kośala. Moreover, it also contains a reference to his conflict with Kāñchī i.e. the Choḷas who, as we have already seen, invaded Orissa in about 1021 A.D. It must have been inevitable for Yayāti II to come into conflict with them before he could have established himself as the king of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. For these reasons the donor of the Mārañja-Mura Charter cannot be taken to be Yayāti I. Certain other conclusions, not warranted by the

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

text of the charter, have been made by Mr. Mazumdar, but since his conclusions have not been accepted by other scholars, it is not necessary to discuss them here.

APPENDIX II

The Arab and Persian geographers of the ninth and the tenth century A. D. furnish interesting accounts of Orissa and valuable synchronisms which have not so far attracted the notice of scholars. The earliest geograpical work of Ibn Khurdādhbih gives an itinerary along the eastern coast of India from the estuary of the Kūlāfarīd and after Kūdāfarīd mentions Kaylkān, al-Lavā (?), K.nja, Samundar and Ūrīshīn.[11] The work of the traveller Abū 'Abdillāh ibon-Isḥaq which was the source of information for Ibn Khurdādhbih's geography, refers to a woman who ruled Orissa and mentions the name of the country in two forms as Ūrsfīn and Ūrshfīn.[12] He associates the former name with Smndr.[13]

Of these geographical names, Kūdāfarīd, K.nja, Samundar or Smndr and Ūrīshīn, Ūrsfīn or Ūrshfīn have respectively been identified with Godāvarī (the river Godāvarī), Gañjām, Samudra (the sea) and Orissa.[14] Kaylkān and al-Lavā (?) have not been identified, but V. Minorsky suggests with some doubts that Kaylkān may be Calingam of the Portugueze.[15] Since in the above-mentioned itinerary the distance between the Kūdāfarīd (the Godāvarī) and Kaylkān has been given as 2 days' journey, the suggestion of the Russian translator is quite plausible. Calingam of the Portugueze is no doubt Kaliṅganagara which, as the capital of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, had already come into existence before the ninth century when Ibn Khurdādhbih wrote his work. The ancient site of Kaliṅganagara has been identified with Mukhaliṅgam in the Chicacole Taluk of Āndhra Pradesh[16] and its situation would thus agree with the distance given from the river Godāvarī. Al-Lava(?), doubtfully read as such, has not been identified.

11 *Ḥudūd-al-Ālam*, "The Regions of the World," A Persian Geography, translated in Russian by V. Minorsky and retranslated in English; Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 241.

12. *Ibdi.*, pp. 26-27.

13. *Ibid.*, fn. 3.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *J. of Andhra Hist. R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57-ff.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

These identifications show beyond doubt that Ibn Khurdādhbih's accounts refer to Orissa and its contiguous adjoining territories in the eastern coast of India and therefore his reference to a woman who ruled over Orissa at this time cannot be taken to be imaginary. Taking the initial year of the Bhauma Era as 736 A.D. we have shown that Tribhuvana Mahādevī I was ruling in 846 A.D. Since Ibn Khurdādhbih completed the first draft of his work in 846 A.D.,[17] there can be no reasonable doubt that his accounts refer to the Bhauma kingdom of Orissa during the reign of Tribhuvana Mahādevī I.

Ibn Rusta, another Arab geographer, mentions Ūrsfīn (Orissa) and adds that its Queen was called Rābiyā.[18] He completed his geography in 920 A.D.[19] and would therefore be a close contemporary of the Bhauma queen Daṇḍī-Mahādevī of Orissa who was ruling between A.D. 916 and 923. But it is also just possible that the earlier accounts of Khurdādhbih were copied in Rusta's work and in consequence both of them refer to one and the same queen and not to two different ones.

The latest Muslim geographer, the anonymous writer of *Ḥudūd al 'Ālam*, who began his work in A.D. 982 or 983 for Abul-Harith Muḥamad ibn Aḥmad, prince of the province Gūzgān or Guzgānān which lies in the north-western part of the present-day Afghanistan,[20] mentions in a continuous series five geographical names, viz. N.MYAS, HĀRKAND, Ūrshīn, S.M.ND.R and ĀNDRAS and tells us that they are situated on the eastern sea-coast of India and that "the royal power in them belongs to Dahum. Dahum does not consider anyone (*kich-kas*) superior to himself, and is said to have an army of 300,000 men."[21] In another context the same geographer tells us that Ūrshfīn is "a town with a district protruding into sea like an island. Its air is bad. The sea is called there the Sea of Gulfs. The royal power belongs to a woman who is called rāyina."[22]

---

17. *Ḥadūd al-'Ālam*, p. 168.
18. *Ibid*, p. 243.
19. *Ibid*, p. 168.
20. *Ibid*, p. 4.
21. *Ibid*, p. 87.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 87-88.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Of these geograpical names, Ūrshīn or Ūrshfīn, Smndr and Āndras have respectively been identified with Orissa, Samudra (the sea) and the Āndhras (the Andhra courtry),[23] but N.myas and Hārkand and their ruler Dahum still remain unidentified. In Ibn Khurdādhbih's itinerary cited above, the geographical names mentioned indicate the order of their situation from the south to the north. They start from Kūdāfarīd (the river Godāvarī) and end with Ūrshīn (Orissa), but here we find the order of their situation from the north to the south. They start from N.myas and end with Āndras (the Andhra country) and are stated to have belonged to the same ruler Dahum. We have thus reasons to identify N.myas with Māhiṣya, which would have been pronounced by the people as Māhiṣ. Māhiṣya identified with modern Mednapore and otherwise known as Daṇḍakabhukti, was a part of the Bhauma kingdom, as is proved by the Baud Plates of Pṛithvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II who granted a village situated in Daṇḍakabhukti. In the Purāṇas Māhiṣya (also Mahiṣaka and Māhiṣaka) is always associated with Kaliṅga and is stated to have been ruled over by Guha or Guhas along with the people of Kaliṅga and of the Mahendra mountain.[24] Our identification of N.myas with Māhiṣya or Mednapore will not thus appear unreasonable.

The next geographical name Hārkand can very well be identified with Jhārkhaṇḍ which was and which is still a general geographical name for the hilly tracts of Orissa.[25] Even during the age of Aśoka certain portions of Kaliṅga were hilly and forest-clad tracts which remained under the political and cultural hegemony of the main country, but yet enjoyed their internal sovereignty. In his second Separate Kaliṅga Edict Aśoka speaks of the people of these tracts as "unconquered borderers" who in the context of the reference can be taken to be the people of the small principalities lying in the vast stretch of forests and hills that form the

23. *Ibid*, p, 241.

24. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, translated by H. H. Wilson, London, 1865, Edited by Fitzedward Hall, Vol. IV, p. 220.

25. *Jhār* means jungle and *khaṇḍ* means tract. Therefore Jhārkhaṇḍ means a jungly or hilly tract. A recent political party, known as Jharkhand Party, has derived its name from the popular name of this tract.

26 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

major portion of Orissa. In the Betul Plates of Saṁkṣobha[27] these tracts have been described as *Aṣṭādaśa-āṭavika-rājya* and in the Early Medieval copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa they have been named as *Āṣṭādaśa-Gondramas.*[28] In the Mughal Period they came to be known as *Aṭhar-Garjāt*, a term which was probably derived from *Aṣṭādaśa-Gondramas* and which also came down to the British Period and was used by the people notwithstanding the fact that the number of the principalities included in them was not eighteen, but twenty-four. Prior to the conquest of the main portion of Orissa in 1803, the British rulers had established a Division known as Jungle Mahals which included Mednapur, Dhalbhum etc. with the parts of Mayurbhanj then lying in Mednapore. It will thus be seen that certain portions of modern Orissa were always known as hilly or forest-clad tracts, but their popular name has also been Jhārkhaṇḍ which simply means the "jungly tract". This popular name was available to the Muslim geographers and it has been corrupted or pronounced by them as Hārkand. This identification is placed on still surer grounds when we find that the next place mentioned in the series of the geographical names, is Ūrshīn which has been identified by all with Orissa.

Smndr is no doubt a corruption of *Samudra* or the sea, which in Orissa is very often pronounced as *Samundra.* In Ibn Khurdādhbih's itinerary the distance between K.nja and Samundar, which almost tallies with the Oriya pronunciation of the word, has been given as 10 *farsakhs* or 40 miles, one *farsakh* being equivalent to 4 miles.[29] This would appear to be a very reasonable distance between Gañjām and the sea at the nearest point, but the place name Gañjām does not occur in any ancient record. Yuan Chwang does not give the name of the capital of Koṅgoda which he visited, but from his description Cunningham infers that the capital was Gañjām itself.[30] Though the name Gañjām does not occur in epigraphic records, he justifies the existence of such a name by observing that "M. Pauthier writes the name *Kiuan-yu-mo*, which would seem to be intended for a transcript of Gañjām, of which the

27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 286-87.

28. *Ibid*, Vol. XXVI, p. 77.

29. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Popular Edition, 1914, p. 318.

30. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, 1924, p. 587.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

derivation is unknown."[31] In common parlance Gañjām is very often shortened into Gañjā, and that part of Orissa is referred to as Gañjā-Berhampur. It appears that this shortened form Gañjā was available to the Arabs, from which the transcript K. nja has come.

The whole of Āndras (the Āndhra country) was never included in the Bhauma kingdom, but, as we have already shown, a part of the Āndhra country was certainly within it. In the Gañjām Grant the Gaṅga king Jayavarmadeva calls himself the lord of Kaliṅga, but acknowledges the overlordship of the Bhauma king Unmaṭṭakeśari of Virajā or Jājpur.[32] A part of Kaliṅga at this time certainly comprised the Telugu-speaking country. Though the hold of the Bhaumas on Koṅgoda (Gañjām) up to the last part of their supremacy is proved by the Gañjām and other Plates of Daṇḍī Mahādevī,[33] it does not appear that Kaliṅga remained a part of their kingdom throughout their supremacy in Orissa. It is not known when the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka, of whom Jayavarma was a member, regained their independence, but it is most likely that they continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the Bhaumas for at least three or four generations.

We have stated above that the accounts of the earliest geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih relate to Orissa during the reign of the Bhauma queen Tribhuvana Mahādevī I and the later geographers included in their works the earlier accounts with the additions of their own. Each of them refers to a female ruler of Orissa and since the Bhauma Dynasty produced as many as six female rulers, it is possible to show with reference to the dates of their composition that the different works refer to different female rulers. Such a process will however go against the expert opinion expressed by the European commentators including the Russian translator V. Minorsky that the earlier accounts were utilised by the later geographers.[34] We may therefore conclude that the information that we gather from the different geographical works relates to the Orissan kingdom in the early part of the Bhauma supremacy. These works mention the main divisions of the kingdom, viz.

31. *Ibid.* p 288.

32. *Ind Hist. Q.*, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 489-93.

33. B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 57ff; p. 59: p. 60ff.

34. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 26-27.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

N.myas (Mednapore), Hārkand (the hilly tracts), Ūrshīn (Orissa proper), K.nja (Gañjām or Koṅgoda Maṇḍala) and Āndras (the Kaliṅga portion of the kingdom) and thus enable us to form a complete idea of the extent of the Bhauma supremacy, which is also borne out by the epigraphic evidences. The sea near Orissa has been characteristically described as "the Sea of Gulfs" which means that it is a bay. In various stages of her history the sea near Orissa has been variously known as Mahodadhi, Kaliṅgopasāgara and finally as Vaṅgopasāgara or the Bay of Bengal.

Since the royal power in these territories bordering on "the Sea of Gulfs" is stated to have belonged to Dahum who "does not consider anyone superior to himself" and who "is said to have an army of 300,000 men", we have now no difficulty in identifying Dahum with Bhaum which represents the colloquail pronunciation of the word Bhauma. In India the real names of the rulers were scarcely used by people; they were always popularly known by their designations, surnames or the dynastic names. Therefore, it was not always possible for the foreigners to know the real names of the rulers. The Arabs have referred to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king as the Balharā of Mankir (Vallabharāja of Mānyakheṭa),[35] which was the popular name by which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were known in India. Rābiyā or Rāyinā of the Muslim geographers appears to be a corruption of Rāṇī Mā which was most likely the popular name of the female ruler of the Dahum country. The independent status and the power of the ruler are indicated by the above statements that Dahum (Bhaum) did not consider anyone superior to himself and maintained an army of 300,000 men.

About the main products of the country we are told that "Extremely large elephants are found there, such as in no other place of India. From it comes large quantities of pepper and rotang.[36] In no place of Hindustan are fresh aloes found but in the (possession) of the kings of Qāmarūn.[37] These

35. *HCIP*, Vol. IV, pp. 17, 170.

36. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 87.

37. Qāmarūn, identified with Kāmarūpa (Assam), has been described as "a kingdom in the eastern part of Hindustan. Rhinoceroses and gold mines are numerous there. From it come emery (*sunbadha*) and good fresh aloes (*ud-i tar*)". *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

countries produce large quantities of good cotton which (grows) on trees yielding their produce during many years. The product of this country is white conch (*sapid muhra*) which is blown like a trumpet and is called *shank*."[38] Ibn Khurdādhbih also mentions both elephants and aloes as the products of the region and states that they are "carried in fresh water (evidently the rivers) to S.m.nd.r (the *samudra* or the sea) from places 15-20 days distant from there." He confirms the high rank of the king and perhaps speaks of the *śaṅkha* which according to him was the peculiar trait of this country and was usually employed as insignia of kings.[39] Ibn Rusta also speaks of the woman ruler called Rābiyā and of the "tallest elephants" of the country.

V. Minorsky appears to think that Ibn Rusta has made a confusion between the territories of the woman ruler and of Dahum and has represented them as belonging to one and the same ruler, because the anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* "clearly discriminates between the two localities respectively belonging to the Queen Rāniyā (rāṇī) and Dahum."[41] Our above discussions will however show that it is the anonymous author and not the earlier authors, who has made a confusion. Our identification of Dahum with Bhaum (Bhauma) proves beyond doubt that Dahum and Rābiyā or Rāniyā refer to one and the same ruler, the first being the dynastic name of the ruling family and the second the popular name of the female ruler who happened to be the reigning monarch of the kingdom when the information was collected. What appears to have been the case is that the anonymous writer utilised the earlier accounts and added some accounts of his own, but treated them separately giving an impression to the reader that they relate to two different rulers and two different localities or territories.

The picture that we obtain from these foreign accounts about the Bhauma kingdom is a splendid one. It was a kingdom much larger in extent than the present state of Orissa. Its ruler enjoyed a high status and maintained a large army.

38. *Ibid*, p. 87.
39. *Ibid*, p. 242.
40. *Ibid*, p. 243.
41. *Ibid*, p. 243.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Brisk maritime trade was being carried on with the foreign countries. There were ports for the sea-borne trade and one such port Nūbīn (?) is stated to have been situated in "the frontier of Dahum's country (*mamlakat*). The provisions and corn (*ghalla*) of Sarandīb come from this town."[42] Nūbīn (?), doubtfully read as such, has not been identified. Sarandīb is no doubt Suvarṇa-dvipa or modern Sumātrā.

The anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* is the last Muslim writer to throw some light on the geographical, political and economic conditions of the eastern coast of India. Alberuni's *India,* which was written in about 1030 A.D.,[43] contains most useful information about Northern India, but it furnishes very hazy and vague accounts of the southern and eastern coasts of India. He speaks of Arku-tirtha, Uwaryahār and Ūrdabishau as being situated southward towards the coast from the Tree of Prayāg (Allahabad) and gives their distances from the sacred tree as 12, 40 and 50 *farsakhs* respectively.[44] A *farsakh* being equivalent to about 4 miles, these distances given by Alberuni appear to be extremely vague. Sachau does not attempt to identify Arku-tirtha which is evidently a transcript of Arka-tīrtha or Koṇārka situated in the Puri District of Orissa with its magnificent temple built by the Gaṅga king Narasiṁhadeva I (1238-1264 A.D.). Though the existing temple belongs to the thirteenth century, the shrine of Arka-tīrtha or Koṇarka is, without doubt, very ancient and has been referred to in Ptolemy's geography as Kannagara identified with Koṇāraka or Koṇārka.[45] Sachau thinks that Uwaryahār and Ūdabishau probably represent Ūrīyā-dhārā or Ūrīyā-deśa and Ūrdhva-viṣaya respectively,[46] but Ūrdhva-viṣaya as the name of a geographical place is not known to us from any source. It appears to represent Uḍra-viṣaya or Oḍra-viṣaya which, as we have seen, as the name of Orissa occurs in the form of Oḍḍa-viṣaya in the inscriptions of Rājendra Choḷa. According to Alberuni's accounts "Jaur's

42. *Ibid,* p. 86.
43. *ibid,* p. 168.
44. Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* popular Edition, 1914, Vol. I, p. 200.
45. McCrindle, *Ancient India by Ptolemy,* p. 70.
46. Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* p. 318.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

possession (i.e. the Chola empire)" started from the end of Ūdabishau (Orissa), but here too the distances given by him between Ūdabishau and certain places situated in the Chola empire are extremely doubtful. For instance, the distance between Ūdabishau (Orissa) and Kanji which is apparently a transcript of Kāñchi, the famous city situated in the Chola empire, has been given as only 30 *farsakh* (about 120 miles).[47] Alberuni's accounts of the coastal regions of India appear to have been based on hear-say and therefore lack definiteness and authenticity. The Arab and Persian geographers' accounts of the same regions appear to have been based on the first-hand knowledge required for commercial purposes and are therefore much better than those of Alberuni.

47. *Ibid*, p. 200.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

INDEX.

A.

Abhimanyu, ruler of Kośala, 13, 14, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43
Abhimanyu, a lineal descendant of Janamejaya, 1, 17, 35
Abhinava Bārāṇasī, 14, 14 fn. 41
Abhinava Yayātinagara, 13, 14, 15
Abul ' Abdillāh Ibn-Isḥaq, 64
Abul-Harith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, 65
Acharya, Mr. P., 10, 12
Acharya, Pyari Mohan, 15 *fn.* 44.
Ādinagara, 10, 11
Afghanistan, 65
Aghyakā-Varāṭi, 60
Aiyangar, Dr. S. K., 10
Ajapāla, 48, 49
Ajāpāla, 48
Alberuni, 71, 72
Allahabad, 71
Al Lavā (?). 64.
Amoghavarṣa, 26, 29
Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, 14, 14 *fn.* 41, 43, 47
Anantavarman, 38
Ananta Vāsudeva temple, 47
Āndhra, 64, 65, 66, 68
Āndras, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69
Aṅga, 36
Arab Geographers, 65, 72
Arabs, 68, 69
Arka-tīrtha, 71
Araku-tīrtha, 71
Ārya-saṁgha, 55
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 49
Aśoka, 66
Assam, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 69 *fn.* 37
Aṣṭādaśa-āṭavika-rājya, 67
Aṣṭādaśa Gondramas, 67
Aśvamedha, 15, 33
Aṭhar-garjāt, 67
Avalokiteśvara, 22
Avataṁśaka, 25
Ayodhyā, 37
Ayodhyāpura, 37

B.

Baidyanāth, Baidyanātha, 46
Baitaraṇī, 15
Bala, 43, 56
Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta, 10, 57
Balasore, 38
Balharā of Mānkir, 69
Balijhari Copper-plates, 35
Bāṇa Dynasty, 3, 4
Bāṇa Kingdom, 5
Banerji, Prof. R.D., 16, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61
Baṅgāl-deś, 13
Baraḍa, 9
Baraḍa-Hariharpur, 9
Barambā, 46
Bārāṇasī, 14, 56
Bārāṇasī-Kaṭaka, 14
Bārāsur Inscription,
Bārāsuru, 40
Barsur, 40, 41
Bastar, 13, 38, 40, 44, 46
Baud, 31, 32, 41
Baud Plate of Pṛithvī Mahādevī, 6, 6 *fn.* 16, 7, 24, 66
Baudh Plates of Saloṇabhañja, 41
Bengal, 12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 36, 37
Betul, 67
Bhagadatta, 21
Bhagadatta-rāja-kulajā, 21
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R., 62
Bhañjas, 8 *fn.* 17, 9, 31, 32, 41, 42
Bhānudeva I, 47
Bharasaha, 18
Bhāskaravarman, 20
Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka, 60
Bhaṭṭa-Peḍi, 52
Bhauma, 19, 21, 22 *fn.* 12, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 38, 57, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69
Bhauma Era, 8, 8 *fn.* 17, 9, 18, 19, 20, 25
Bhauma-Kara, Bhauma-Karas, Bhaumas, 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 8 *fn.* 17, 9, 10, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 32, 48
Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta, 2, 17, 33, 34, 48
Bhīmaṭa (physician), 59, 60, 61
Bhimṭa (III), a king, 34, 34 *fn.* 50
Bhoja, Paramāra king, 34, 35, 62
Bhubaneswar, 16, 47, 52, 58
Bhujavala, 42, 43, 44
Bhuyan Rebellion, 44
Bilaspur, 3, 4, 5, 47
Bilhari Stone Inscription, 33
Bodhisattva, 56
Bolangir, 37
Brahmeśvara Inscription, 6, 7, 17, 23, 35, 36, 37

C.

Calcutta, 49
Caliṅgam, 64
Chaidya, Chaidyas, (Kalachuris). 2, 5, 50, 51, 52
Chakrakoṭya, 45
Chakrakuṭa, 13
Chakravarti, Mr. M. M., 14
Chakravartin, 44, 45
Chālukya, 35, 62
Chaṇḍagrāma, 9
Chaṇḍgān, 9
Chaṇḍīhara, 17, 35
Chandrāditya, 41
Chandrikā, 47
Chandrikādevī, 47
Chāṭeśvara Inscription, 47
Chattisgarh, 4
Chedi (country), 2, 3, 34, 50, 51, 52

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Chellā, 56
Chellu, 56
Chhoṭa Hātīgumphā, 60
Chicacole, 64
China, 21
Choḍa, 36, 36 *fn.* 55
Choḍagaṅgadeva, 17, 33, 38, 39, 47
Choḷa, Choḷas, 10, 11, 13, 34, 35, 36, 36 *fn.* 55, 62, 63, 72
Cuttack, 9, 14, 23, 38, 61

D.

Ḍāhala, Ḍāhalas, 2, 3, 26, 36, 50, 51, 52
Dah Parvatiyā, 23
Dahum (Bhaum), 30, 65, 66, 69, 71
Dakṣiṇa Kośala, 1
Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, 12
Dakṣiṇa, Toṣali, 9
Daṇḍakabhukti, 12, 13, 24, 38, 66
Daṇḍī Mahādevī, 9, 18, 31, 65, 68
Dasapalla Copper-plate Grant, 8
Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭa, 15
Deccan, 26
Deśigaṇa, 55
Devadatta, 37
Devapāla, k. of Bengal, 27
Devendravarman Rājarāja, 38
Dhalbhum, 67
Dharālladeva, 42, 43
Dharma-Kandarpa, 5, 17, 39
Dharmā-Mahādevī, 18, 31
Dharmapāla, 12
Dharmaratha Mahāśivagupta, 12, 13, 17, 34, 35
Dhauligiri, 58, 60, 61
Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevī, 27
Dhoyī, a poet, 14
Dhṛitipura, 32
Draviḍa, 63
Durgarāja, 51, 52
Durjayabhañja, 41, 42

E.

East Bengal, 13, 36, 37

F.

Faizabad, 37
Fleet, Dr., 48

G.

Gajapati, 44
Gaṇḍavyūha, 25
Gandhaḍapaṭi, 32 *fn.* 29
Gandharāḍi, 32
Gandharavāḍi, 32, 41
Gandhaṭa, 32
Gandhaṭapaṭi, 32, 32 *fn.* 29, 41
Gaṇeśa, 59, 60
Gaṇeśa Gumphā, 58, 60, 61
Gaṅga, Gaṅgas, 14, 23, 24, 28, 28 *fn.* 29, 38, 39, 43, 47, 64, 68, 71
Gaṅga Era, 16, 54
Gaṅgā image, 23
Ganges, river, 11, 12, 13, 14
Gāṅgeyadeva, 34, 35, 36, 37, 61
Ganguly, Dr. D. C., 11, 12
Gañjā, 68
Gañjā-Berhampur, 68
Gañjām, 9, 23, 24, 25, 67, 68
Gaṇuṭapaṭi, 32 *fn.* 29
Garhwal, 55
Gauḍa, 20, 36, 36 *fn.* 55, 37, 62
Gaurī, Bhauma queen, 18
Gayāḍa, I, 18
Gayāḍa, II, 18
Godāvarī, 24, 66
Gopali, 26
Govinda Chandra, 13, 37
Govinda III, 26, 27, 32
Govindpur, 57
Grahadvāla, 55
Graha Kula, 55
Guha, Guhas, 22, 22 *fn.* 12, 66
Guhadeva Pāṭaka, 22
Gaheśvara Pāṭaka, 22, 22 *fn.* 9
Guhira Ṭikrā, 22, 22 *fn.* 9
Gurjjara, 36, 62
Guzgān, 65
Guzgānān, 65

H.

Ḥadūd al 'Ālam, 65, 70, 71
Haihaya, 47
Hari, 30
Hārkand, 65, 66, 67, 68
Harṣadatta, 37
Harṣavarman, King of Assam, 20
Hātīgumphā Inscription, 54
Hindol Plate of Śubhākaradeva III, 27
Hindustan, 69, 69 *fn.* 37
History and Culture of Indian People, 1, 6 *fn.* 16, 18, 19, 52

I.

Ibn Khurdādhbih, 30, 64, 65, 67, 69, 69
Ibn Rusta, 65, 70
Ijyā, 59, 60, 61
India, 12, 14
Indian Calendar, 8
Indian Museum, Calcutta, 49
Indirarada, 11
Indirarata, 11
Indra, 43
Indraratha, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 34, 35

J.

Jabalpur, Jubbulpore, 33, 36, 52
Jagannātha, 14, 21, 26, 27 *fn.* 26, 32, 33, 44
Jājjaladeva I, 42, 43, 44, 45
Jājjaladeva II, 46, 47
Jājnagar, 15
Jajpur, 14, 15, 15 *fn.* 44, 22, 23, 33, 34, 61, 68
Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta, 2, 3 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 19, 30, 35, 39, 49, 51, 63
Janamejaya II Mahāśivagupta, 17, 38, 40, 46
Janjgir, 47
Jaṭeśvara, 47
Jaur (Choḷa), 71
Jayadeva, King of Nepal, 20, 21
Jayasiṁha, Chālukya king, 13
Jayasiṁha, ruler of Daṇḍakabhukti, 16, 39
Jayāvalīdevī, 24

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Jayavarmadeva, ruler of Śvetaka, 23, 24, 25, 68
Jhārkhaṇḍ, 66
Jungle Mahals, 67

K.

Kalachuri, Kalachuris, 2, 3, 5, 6, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 52, 61
Kaliṅga, 20, 22, 22 *fn.* 12, 23, 24, 26, 35, 62, 63, 66, 68
Kaliṅga Edict, 66
Kaliṅganagara, 11, 64
Kaliṅgarāja, 34
Kaliṅgopasāgara, 69
Kālīya (serpent), 33
Kalyāṇa, 35, 62
Kāmākṣyā, 21
Kāmarūpa, 21, 69 *fn.* 37
Kanauj, 15, 15 *fn.* 44, 33
Kāñchi, 36, 62, 63, 72
Kanji, 72
Kannagara, 71
Kara, Karas, 19, 22, 27, 31
Karṇa, Karṇadeva Mahāśivagupta, 13, 16, 17, 18, 38, 39
Karṇa, Karṇadeva (Kalachuri King), 37
Karṇakeśarī, 16
Karṇṇāṭa, 36, 62
Karpūra-śrī, 39
Kaylkān, 64
Keonjhar, 44
Kesarkelā, 37
Keśarī, Keśaris, 1, 44
Khaḍīpadā, 22
Khalla, 56
Khaṇḍagiri, 16, 52, 54
Khāravela, 54
Kharod Inscription, 43
Kisarakellā, 37
K.nja, 64, 67, 69
Kokkalā I, 5
Kokkalā II, 34
Koṇāraka, 71
Koṅārka, 71
Koṅgoda, 23, 35, 62, 62, 67, 69
Korni Plates, 39
Kośala, 1, 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 50, 51, 62, 63
Kośalāi Nāḍu, 13
Kri-son-Ide-btsan, Tibetan King, 21
Kshemaṅkaradeva, 18, 23
Kūdāfarīd, 64, 66
Kulachandra, 55, 56
Kumārādhirāja, 40
Kumāra-parvata, 53, 54
Kumārī-parvata, 54
Kumuraṅga Plate, 31
Kuruspal, 45
Kusumahāra I, 18
Kusumahāra II, 18

L.

Lakṣmaṇa, 50, 52
Lakṣmaṇarāja, Kalachuri king, 33
Lalāṭendu Keśarī Gumphā, 16, 52
Lalitahāra, I, 28
Lāñji, 45
Lāñjira, 37
Laphā Zamindari, 3
Laskar, Mr. Ganga Mohan, 48, 49
Lāṭa, 36, 62
Lavaṇabhāra II, 18
Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription, 17
Loṇabhāra, I, 18
Luipā, 21

M.

Mādalāpāñji, 14, 26, 27, 32, 39, 44
Madhu-Kāmārṇṇava, 47
Mahābhārata, 15
Mahābhavagupta, 4, 5
Mahādā Plates, 46
Mahā Kośala, 4
Mahānadī, 1, 12, 36, 47
Mahārājādhirāja, 45
Mahāśivagupta, 4
Mahendra Mountain, 22, 66
Mahīpāla I, king of Bengal, 13, 36, 37
Māhiṣ, 66
Mahiṣaka, 66
Māhiṣaka, 22 *fn.* 12, 66
Māhiṣya, 22, 66
Mahodadhi, 69
Malwa, 34, 62
Mānkir, 69
Mānyakheṭa, 69
Maraḍa-viṣaya, 9
Mārañja-Mura Charter, 36, 62, 63
Mayurbhanj, 67
Mazumdar, Mr. B. C., 32 *fn.* 29, 62, 63, 64
Mazumdar, Dr. R. C., 25, 31
Mednapore, 12, 13, 15, 16, 22, 24, 38, 39, 66, 67, 69
Minorsky, Mr. V., Russian translator, 64, 68, 70
Mirashi, Prof. V. V., 5, 43, 45
Misra, Pandit Binayak, 25, 57, 59, 61
Mitra, Mrs. D., 1
Mṛigaśirā-Nakṣatra, 8
Mugdhatuṅga, 3, 5, 8
Mukhaliṅgam, 64
Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription, 60
Mysore, 28 *fn.* 29, 29

N.

Nābhi Gayā, 15
Nāgādbhava, 28 *fn.* 29
Nāga King, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46
Nagodbhava, 28, 28 *fn.* 29
Nāgodbhava, 28 *fn.* 29
Nahuṣa Mahābhavagupta, 7, 12, 13, 17, 34, 35
Nandas, 8 *fn.* 17
Nandi, Sandhyākara, 16
Nandīpadas, 55
Nannaṭa, 59, 60, 61
Narasiṁha I, 71
Narsiṅgpur, 35
Nath, Mr. B. B., 46
Navamuni Cave, 52, 54, 55, 56
Nayagarh, 57

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Nepal, 20, 21, 25
Nilāchala, 21
N.myas, 65, 66, 69
Nubin (?), 71

O.

Oḍḍa-vishaya, 12, 13, 71
Oḍra, 12, 20, 33, 36 *fn.* 55
Oḍraka, 26
Oḍra-viṣaya, 71
Orissa, 1, 6, 8, 8 *fn.* 17, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, 54, 57, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71

P.

Padampur, 37
Pāla, Pālas, 20, 22, 26, 27, 29, 36, 38, 39
Pāli, 3, 4
Pañchamī, 8
Pāṇḍuvaṁśī, 3, 4
Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, 40
Parama-māheśvara, 33, 40
Paramarās, 34, 35
Paramardīdeva, 47
Paramasaugata, 25
Parama-tathāgata, 25
Parameśvara, 40, 45
Paramopāsaka, 25
Pārśvanātha, 53
Paśupati Temple Inscription, 20, 21
Patna Museum, 23
Patna State, 49
Pauthier, Mr. M., 67
Pavana-dūtam, 14
Persian Geographers, 72
Phulbāni District, 32
Pillai, Swamikannu, 8
Pithorā, 37
Prasiddha-dhavala, 5
Pratāpamalla, 43
Prayāg, 71
Pṛithurā, 37
Pṛithvīdeva II, 46, 47
Pṛithvī Mahādevī, 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 30
Ptolemy, 71
Purāṇas, 22, 66
Purañjaya Mahābhavagupta, 17, 38
Puri, 26, 27 *fn.* 26, 32, 33, 38, 44, 57, 71
Puruṣottama, 27 *fn.* 26

Q.

Qamārun, 69, 69 *fn.* 37

R.

Rabiyā, 65, 69, 70
Rāḍha, 24, 24 *fn.* 17, 36, 37, 62
Raipur, 4
Rājamalladeva, 28, 28 *fn.* 29, 29
Rājamalladeva I, 28 *fn.* 29, 29, 30
Rājarāja, I, 38
Rājendra Choḷa, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 35, 36, 37, 71
Rajguru, Pandit S. N., 8
Rājyamatī, 20, 21
Raktavāhu, 26, 32
Rāma, 50, 51
Rāma-charita, 16, 38, 39
Rāmapāladeva, 16, 17, 38, 39
Raṇabhañja, 32 *fn.* 29
Raṇa-Keśari, 18, 57, 58
Raṇaśūra, 12
Raṇavigraha, 5
Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, 26, 27, 29, 32, 69
Ratnadeva II, 43, 46, 47
Ratnadeva III, 43
Ratnagiri, 23
Ratnagiri Charter, 1, 16, 17, 38
Ratnapur, Ratnapura, 3, 34, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47
Ravi-dina, 8
Rayinā, 65, 69, 70
Rudradatta, 37

S.

Sachau, 71
Sahet Mahet, 56
Sahu, Dr. N. K., 43
Śailodbhava, Śailodbhavas, 28 *fn.* 29
Śālastambha, king of Assam, 20
Saloṇabhañja, 41
Sambalpur, 4, 5, 31, 37, 38, 39
Saṁkṣobha ,67
Samundar, 64
Sañjān Plates, 26
Śaṅkaragaṇa, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8
Śāntikara I, 18, 26, 28, 29, 58, 59, 60, 61
Śāntikara II, 18
Śāntikara III, 18
Saptamātṛikās, 15
Sarandib, 71
Sarangarh, 37
Sarayūpāra Kalachuri Dynasty, 34
Sārnāth, 56
Śatrubhañjadeva, 8, 32
Shaṇṇavati, 45, 46
Śeorīnārāyaṇ, Sheorīnārāyaṇ, 43, 47
Śilābhañja, 41, 42
Simha, Raja Krishna, 15
Siṁhadatta, 37
Siṁhaketu, 18
Siṅgharā Plates, 32 *fn.* 29
Sircar, Dr. D. C., 12, 19, 22, 36 *fn.* 55, 40, 41, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51 57, 63
Sirpur, 57
Śītāṁśu-vaṁśa, 6
Śivadeva, King of Nepal, 21
Śivagupta, 4
Śivakara, I, Unmaṭṭasiṁha, 18, 23, 25, 26
Śivakara II, 18, 26, 27, 29
Śivakara III, 6, 7, 8, 18, 23, 24
Somavaṁśa, 6
Somavaṁśī, Somavaṁśīs, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54, 57, 58, 63
Someśvara, a deity, 33
Someśvara, a Somavaṁśī prince, 14, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Someśvara I of Bastar, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46
Someśvara II of the Telugu-Choḍa Dynasty, 42, 43
Someśvara III of the Telugu-Choḍa Dynasty, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46
Sonepur, 4, 5, 14, 26, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47
Śrīdhara, 56
Śrī-Harṣa, Śri-Harṣadeva, Harṣavarman (king of Assam), 20, 21
Sten Konow, Dr., 59
Stirling, Mr. A., 26
Śubhachandra, 54, 55, 56
Śubhākara I, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 32
Śubhākara II, 18, 29
Śubhākara III, 18, 28, 29
Śubhākara IV, 6, 7, 18
Śubhākara V, 18
Śubhanadeva, 26, 27
Śuhma, 14, 15
Sumātrā, 71
Suvarṇadvipa, 71
Suvarṇṇapura, Suvarṇapura, 14, 40 43, 44, 46
Svabhāvatuṅga, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 19, 30, 50, 51, 52
Svarṇṇapura, 41, 46
Svarṇṇavatī, 45
Śvetaka, 23, 66

T.

Tālcher, 23, 24
Taltalāi Plate, 31
Tanjore, 35
Tāranātha, Tibetan historian, 20, 22
Telugu-Choḍa, Telugu-Choḍas, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46
Te-tsong, Chinese Emperor, 21, 25
Tezpur District, 23
Tibet, 21, 25
Tīrthāṅkaras, 53
Tirumalāi Inscription, 10, 11, 12
Toggala, 34 *fn.* 46
Tomaṇṇa, 34
Tribhuvana Mahādevī, I, 18, 28, *fn.* 29, 29, 30, 65, 68
Tribhuvana Mahādevī II, 6, 9, 18, 19 30, 31, 66
Tripurī (Jabalpur), 3, 5, 33, 36
Tumān, 3
Tummāṇa, 3, 34

U.

Udayagiri, 54, 58, 60, 61
Uḍḍīyāna, 21
Uddyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta, 1, 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57
Uḍra 6, 38, 45, 71
Unmaṭṭa-keśarī, 23, 68
Unmaṭṭa-siṁha, 18, 23, 24
Urdabishau, 71, 72
Ūrdhva-vishaya, 71
Uriyā-dhārā, 71
Uriyā, deśa, 71
Ūrsfin, Ūrshfīn, Ūrshīn, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68
Utkala, 1, 11, 12, 13, 16, 31, 32, 33, 35, 39, 46, 62, 63
Utkalas, 27
Uwaryahāra, 71

V.

Vajrayāna, 21
Vakula Mahādevī, 18, 31
Vallabharāja of Mānyakheṭa, 69
Vaṅga, 26, 36, 37, 62
Vaṅgopasāgara, 69
Vāsudeva Ratha, 39
Veṅgi, 45
Venkataramayya, Mr. M., 41
Vichitra-vīra, 17
Virajā, Virajo, 14, 22, 22 *fn.* 9, 23, 60, 61, 68
Viruda, 4
Viṣṇu, 29, 50
Viṣṇu Purāṇa. 22
Viṣṇu-Saṁkrānti, 8
Vṛittra, 43
Vyāsa, a king, 34 *fn.* 50

W.

West Bengal, 12
Western Gaṅgas, 28 *fn.* 29, 29
Wilson, Mr. H. H., 22

Y.

Yaśorāja II, 42
Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17, 19, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 45, 48, 49, 51, 52, 63
Yayati II Chaṇḍihara Mahāśivaguptar 4, 14, 17, 35, 36, 36 *fn.* 55, 37, 42, 52, 61, 62, 63
Yayāti Keśarī, 15, 26, 32, 33
Yayātinagara, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 34
Yayātinagarī, 14
Yayāti-pattana, 15
Yuan Chwang, 67
Yuvarāja, I, Kalachuri King, 2, 3, 6, 50, 51
Yuvarāja II, Kalachuri King, 2, 33, 51

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

Printed at the M. L. J. Press Private Limited, Madras 4.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com